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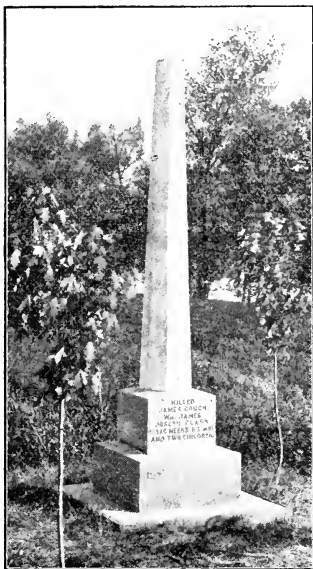
Archaeological and Historical PUBLICATIONS.

BIG BOTTOM AND ITS HISTORY.

CLEMENT L. MARTZOLFF.

The history of Big Bottom has no claim on being unique, unless the recent action of Mr. Obadiah Brokaw, in erecting a monument at his own expense to mark the site of the block-house can demand such distinction. The events connected with this historic ground are decidedly *type studies*. Its early history is but representative of and part of that general conflict between the Indian and the white man. Its later history typifies what *ought* to be done with all the similar sites in Ohio.

The history of Big Bottom can therefore be divided into two distinct periods, separated by an interval of one hundred and fifteen years. The first story of Big Bottom is a chapter in the narrative of the conquest of America. It forms one step in the onward march of the intrepid Anglo-Saxon as he pushed toward the setting sun. It also exemplifies



MONUMENT ON SITE OF BIG BOTTOM
MASSACRE.

how that step was arrested and where the conquerer was for the time the conquered.

As an historical factor, one Indian battle or massacre is about as important as another. They all tell to the student of history the same truth. We only repeat it that men may see its universality and "lest we forget."

It was indeed fortunate for our Ohio "Forefathers" that when the "Second Mayflower" came to the mouth of the Muskingum, Fort Harmar was already there and that from behind her walls, would belch forth in the name of the new nation, the edict, that here the conquest of the continent would be made under the dignity of civic law. But this good fortune was not for long. The settlement at Marietta was made in 1788. It was not a great while until the inhabitants began to cast about for suitable locations for settlement in the vicinity. The virgin woods of Ohio called loud to these pioneers. The river that ran between them and Fort Harmar and which joined its blue waters with the amber Ohio at the foot of their village, urged a constant invitation to follow its winding course. There were large stretches of bottom lands on both sides of the stream. It was the natural highway that led up into a vast territory fitted for settlement and colonization.

But it had not been left for the Mariettians to discover for themselves the qualities obtaining along the banks of the Elk Eye. Already in 1785, General Parsons, afterward one of the judges of the territory north of the Ohio, while on an inspection tour in the interests of the proposed Ohio Company, made a trip up the Muskingum River. At the Saltlick, Duncan's Falls, he met Jonathan Zane, who was there making salt. He questioned him about the Ohio country. Zane knew all about the territory drained by the river, and he advised General Parsons, and later Dr. Cutler, to make his proposed settlement on the Muskingum, north of the Licking.¹ It is no wonder then that the people at Marietta had predilections for going up the river and "spying out the land." Within two and a half years from the coming of the "Mayflower," Marietta consisted of about eighty houses within a distance of a mile. There were scattering houses three miles up the river.

¹ Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications, Vol. 13.

There was a set of mills on Duck Creek four miles distant, and another mill two miles up the Muskingum. At Waterford, twenty-two miles further up stream was a settlement of twenty families. Two miles from Waterford, on Wolf Creek, was a set of mills and five families. Below Marietta, and opposite the Little Kanawha, was the Belpre settlement with houses extending along the river front a distance of twelve miles and consisting of some thirty or forty families.²

This was the situation of affairs in the autumn of 1790. These scattered settlements were practically helpless to ward off an Indian invasion. It is true that after St. Clair's treaty with the Indians at Fort Harmar in January, 1789, there was among the colonists a fancied security. But the Miamis would not be bound by any existing agreements and refused to yield their Ohio lands. The approaching storm was not unheralded. The premonitions of an Indian uprising were many. To these signs the people of Marietta were not altogether oblivious. During the summer General Harmar had withdrawn from his fort on the Muskingum nearly all of his troops to aid in his Miami campaign. His subsequent defeat only irritated the savages and their usual career of slaughter followed. Returning hunters told of various attacks made by the Indians and boats passing the new settlement would tell the same story. With the frequent coming of such ill-boding news and with but a handful of soldiers at Fort Harmar, it is no wonder that the Mariettians were uneasy.

Yet in spite of the unsettled condition of the western country and in spite of the warning given by "older heads" at Marietta a company of thirty-six men began the settlement at Big Bottom.

Big Bottom, while not possessed of a very euphonious title, was well named. It is about thirty miles from the mouth of the Muskingum, and consists of a fine stretch of level land extending on the east side of the river a distance of over four miles. The most of it is situated upon a terrace. Between the river bank and this terrace, at the northern end of the "Bottom" is where the ill-fated blockhouse was built in the late autumn of 1790. To be specific, the location is one and a half miles southeast of the

² Gen. Putman's Letter to President Washington after Big Bottom Massacre.

village of Stockport, in the township of Windsor, Morgan county, Ohio.

The subsequent occurrences at the block-house we quote from Dr. S. P. Hildreth's "Pioneer History." Dr. Hildreth was a resident of Marietta and his account is the only authentic record we have of the massacre:

"A few yards above the block house, was a small drain put down from the plain into the river, forming a shallow ravine. A small opening had been cleared about the building, on the river side, surrounded by the adjacent forest. The associates were chiefly young, unmarried men, but little acquainted with Indian warfare or military rules.

"Those most familiar with the Indians, had little doubt of their hostility, and strongly opposed the settlers going out that fall, and advised them to remain until spring, by which time the question of war or peace would probably be decided. But the young men were impatient of delay, and confident in their own ability to protect themselves. They went; put up a block house, which might accommodate the whole of them on an emergency. It was built of large beech logs, rather open, and not well filled in between them. This job was left for a rainy day, or some more convenient time. They had also neglected to inclose their house with palisades, and ceasing to complete the work, the general interest was lost in that of the convenience of each individual. Another error was the neglect of any regular system of defense, and the omission of setting sentries. Their guns were lying in different corners of the house, without order. About 20 men usually slept in the building, a part of whom were absent at the time of attack. At one end of the house was a large, open fire-place, and when the day closed, all came in, and built a large fire and commenced cooking and eating their supplies." (MSS. of Colonel Barker.)

"The weather, for some time previous to the attack, had been quite cold, and the Muskingum river frozen over since the 22nd of December, so as to be passable on the ice. On Sunday, the 2nd day of January, 1791, it thawed a little, with the ground partially covered with snow. In the depth of winter, it was not customary for the Indians to go out on war parties, and the early borderers had formerly thought themselves safe from their depredations during the winter months. About 20 rods above the block house, and a little back from the river, two men, Francis and Isaac Choate, members of the association, had erected a cabin, and commenced clearing their lots. Thomas Shaw, a hired laborer, and James Batten, another of the company, lived with them. About the same distance below the garrison was an old clearing and a small cabin, made several years before, under the laws of Virginia, which two men, Asa and Eleazar Bullard, had fitted up, and now occupied. The Indian war path, from Sandusky to the mouth of the Muskingum, passed along on the opposite ridge, in sight of the river.

The Indians, who had been hunting and loitering about the settlements during the summer, were well acquainted with the approaches to the white settlements and with the manner in which they lived, each family in their own cabin, not apprehensive of danger. With the knowledge of these circumstances, they planned and fitted out a war party for the destruction of the Waterford settlement. It is supposed they were not aware of there being a station at Big Bottom, until they came in sight of it from the high ground on the west side of the river, in the afternoon of the 2nd of January.^a From the ridge they had a view of all that part of the bottom, and could see how the men were



MUSKINGUM RIDGE.

occupied, and the defenseless condition of the block house. After completing their reconnoissance and holding a council as to the mode of attack, they crossed the river on the ice a little above, and divided their warriors into two divisions; the larger one to assault the block house,

^a This ridge is the route of the famous Monongehela Indian Trail, which was the war path from the Indian towns in Ohio to frontier settlements of Southwestern Pennsylvania. See Hulbert's Article "Indian Thoroughfares in Ohio," Vol. 8, Historical Publications.

and the smaller one to make prisoners of the men in the upper cabin without alarming those below. The plan was skillfully arranged and promptly executed. Cautiously approaching the cabin they found the inmates at supper; a portion of them entered the door, while others stood without, and spoke to the men in a friendly manner. Suspecting no harm they offered them food, of which they partook. The Indians seeing some leather thongs in a corner of the room, took the whites by the arms, making signs that they were prisoners and bound them. Finding it useless to resist against superior numbers, they submitted to their fate. While this was transacting at Choate's cabin, the other party had reached the block house unobserved; even the dogs gave no notice of their approach by barking, as they usually do, the reason of which probably was that they were also within by the fire, instead of being on the watch for their masters' safety. The door was thrown open by a large, resolute Indian, who stepped in and stood by its side to keep it unclosed, while his comrades without shot down the white men around the fire. Zebulon Throop, from Massachusetts, who had just returned from the mills with a bag of meal, was frying meat, and fell dead into the fire; several others fell at this discharge. The Indians now rushed in and killed all that were left with the tomahawk. No effectual resistance seems to have been offered, so sudden and unexpected was the attack, by any of the men, but a stout, resolute, backwoods Virginia woman, the wife of Isaac Meeks, who was employed as their hunter, seized an axe and made a blow at the head of the Indian who opened the door; a slight turn of the head saved his skull, and the axe passed down through his cheek into the shoulder, leaving a huge gash that severed nearly half his face. She was instantly killed with the tomahawk of one of the other Indians, before she could repeat the blow. This was the only injury received by the savages, as the men were all killed before they had time to seize their arms, which were standing in the corners of the room. While the slaughter was going on, John Stacey, a young man in the prime of life, the son of Colonel William Stacey, sprang up the ladder into the upper story and from thence on to the roof of the house, hoping to escape that way, while his brother Philip, a lad of 16 years, secreted himself under some bedding in one corner of the room. The Indians on the outside watching that none escaped, soon discovered John on the roof and shot him, while he was in the act of begging them "for God's sake to spare his life, as he was the only one left." His appeal to the Indians was heard by the two Bullards, who alarmed by the firing at the block house, had run out of their cabin to learn the cause. Discovering the Indians around the house, they sprung back to the hut, seized their rifles and put out into the woods, in a direction to be hid by the cabin from the sight of the Indians. They had barely escaped when they heard their door burst open by the savages. They did not pursue them, although

they knew they had just fled, as there was a brisk fire in the chimney, and their food for supper smoking hot on the table.

"After the slaughter was over, and the scalps secured, one of the most important acts in the warfare of the American Indians, they proceeded to collect the plunder. In removing the bedding, the lad Philip Stacey was discovered. Their tomahawks were instantly raised for his destruction, when he threw himself at the feet of one of their leading warriors, begging him to protect him. The savage either took compassion on his youth, or else his revenge being satisfied with the slaughter already made, interposed his authority and saved his life. After removing everything they thought valuable, they tore up the floor; piled it over the dead bodies, and set it on fire, thinking to consume the block house with the carcasses of their enemies. The structure being made of green beech logs, would not readily burn, and the fire only destroyed the floors and roof, leaving the walls still standing. A curious fact, showing the prejudices of the Indians, is related by William Smith, who was one of the associates, but providentially absent at the time of the attack. He was at the place the second day after, and says, the Indians carried out the meal, beans, etc., which they found in the house before setting it on fire, and laid them in small heaps by the stumps of trees, a few paces distant. They probably thought it sacrilege to destroy food, or that it would give offense to the Great Spirit to do so, for which he would in some way punish them. No people were ever more influenced in their actions by auguries and omens, than the savages of North America.

"There were 12 persons killed in this attack, viz: John Stacey, Ezra Putnam, son of Major Putnam, of Marietta; John Camp, and Zebulon Throop, from Massachusetts; Jonathan Farewell, and James Couch, New Hampshire; William James, Connecticut; John Clark, Rhode Island; Isaac Meeks, wife, and two children, from Virginia. These men were well armed, and no doubt could have defended themselves against the Indians, had they taken proper precautions. But they had no veteran revolutionary officers with them to plan and direct their operations, as they had at all the other stations. If they had picketed their house and kept a regular guard, the Indians probably would not have ventured an attack; but seeing the naked block house, they were encouraged to attempt its capture. Colonel Stacey, an old soldier, familiar with Indian warfare in Cherry Valley, where he formerly lived, visited the post on the Saturday previous, and seeing its insecure condition, gave them a strict charge to keep a regular guard, and prepare immediately strong bars to the door, to be shut every night at sunset. They, however, apprehending no danger, did not profit by his advice.

"The two Bullards after effecting their escape traveled rapidly down the river about 4 miles to Samuel Mitchel's hunting camp. Captain Rogers, a soldier of the revolution, a fine hunter, and afterwards

a ranger for the garrison at Marietta, was living with him, and a Mohican Indian, from Connecticut, by the name of Dick Layton. Mitchel was absent at the mills; Rogers and Dick were lying wrapped up in their blankets sleeping by the fire. They were awakened and made acquainted with the cause of their untimely visit, and the probable fate of the people at the block house. Seizing their weapons without delay, they crossed the river on the ice, and shaped their course through the woods for Wolf Creek Mills, distant about 6 miles, and reached there by 10 o'clock that evening.

"On announcing the news of the attack on Big Bottom, and the probable approach of the Indians to the Mills, great was the consternation and alarm of the helpless women and children. Several additional families had joined this station since the year 1789, but a number of the leading men were absent to attend the court of quarter sessions, which was to set at Marietta on Monday. This rendered their condition still more desperate, in case of an attack, which they had every reason to expect before daylight in the morning. The gloom of night greatly added to their distress, and gave energy to their fears. Under the direction of Captain Rogers, who had been familiar with similar events, the inhabitants, amounting to about 30 souls, principally women and children, were all collected into the largest and strongest cabin, which belonged to Colonel Oliver, and was the one standing nearest to the Wolf Creek mills. The people at Millsburgh had neglected to erect a block house, as they were instructed to do, and now felt the need of one. Into this cabin they brought a few of their most valuable goods, with all the tubs, kettles and pails they could muster, which Captain Rogers directed to be filled with water from the creek, for the purpose of extinguishing fire, should the Indians attempt to burn the house, which was one of their most common modes of attack. The door was strongly barred, and windows made fast; the men, seven in number, were posted in the loft, who by removing a few chunks between the logs, with here and there a shingle from the roof, soon made port holes from which to fire upon the enemy. Like a prudent soldier, their leader posted one man as a sentry on the outside of the house, under cover of a fence to give timely notice of their approach. It was a long and weary night, never to be forgotten by the mothers and children, who occupied the room below, and thought they should be first sacrificed if the Indians entered the house. Just before daylight the sentinel gave notice of their approach. Several were obscurely seen, through the gloom of night, near the saw mill, and their movements distinctly heard as they stepped on some loose boards. Their tracks were also seen the next morning in some patches of snow. Finding the people awake, and on the lookout for an attack, they did nothing more than reconnoitre the place, and made their retreat at day dawn, to the great relief of the inhabitants.

"Samuel Mitchel was dispatched early in the night to give the alarm to the people at Waterford, and two runners were sent to Marietta.

Nothing could better demonstrate the courage and humanity of Captain Rogers, than his conduct in this affair, thus to weaken his own means of defense by parting with some of his most active and brave men to notify the sleeping settlers of their danger, when he had every reason to expect an attack from an overwhelming force in a few hours. Mitchel on his way to the river called at the cabin of Harry Maxen, near the mouth of the creek. He was gone to Marietta, but his wife, and Major Tyler, who lived with him, crossed over with Mitchel on the ice, to awaken and notify the people of the danger that awaited them. They first called at the dwelling of the Widow Convers, whose husband had died of smallpox the year before; it stood near the center of the present town of Beverly. She was the mother of 8 children; the two oldest were sons; James, a young man, and Daniel, a lad of 15, who was shortly after taken by the Indians. In one hour from the time the alarm was given by Mitchel, these two young fellows had visited every cabin in the settlement, extending for two miles up and down the river. With all the haste the emergency required, and with as little noise as possible, the inhabitants assembled in their only block house, which was quite small, and stood near the lower part of the donation lots.

"The terror of the women and children, hurried out of their beds at midnight, was not much less than that of those at the mills; but it so happened they had a larger number of old soldiers among them, as but few were absent at the court. The block house was about 15 feet square, and sheltered that night 12 heads of families, with their wives and children, amounting in all to 67 souls. No alarm took place that gloomy night, save the noise of the watch dogs, which were left out of doors to give notice by their barking of the approach of the savages. Early in the morning, scouts of the most active men were sent out to reconnoitre and search for signs of the enemy. None however were seen. In the course of the day they visited their deserted houses for food, which they had no time to take with them in the hurry of the preceding night. The escape of the two Bullards was a merciful and providential event for the settlers of Waterford. If these men had been killed, or captured, the Indians would that night have fallen on the unsuspecting inhabitants in their sleep, who were far less able to resist than the people at Big Bottom, nearly all of them living detached in their log cabins. It is morally certain this would have been their fate, as the Indians fitted out the war party with the express object of destroying these two settlements, and had said that before the leaves again covered the trees, they would not leave a smoke of the white man on this side of the Ohio river.

"The next day, or the 4th of January, Captain Rogers led a party of men over to Big Bottom. It was a melancholy sight to the poor borderers, as they knew not how soon the same fate might befall themselves. The action of the fire, although it did not entirely consume, had so blackened and disfigured the dead bodies, that few of them could be

recognized. That of William James, was known by his great size, being 6 feet and 4 inches in height, and stoutly made. As the earth was frozen on the outside, a hole was dug within the walls of the house, and the bodies consigned to one grave. No further attempt was made at a settlement here, until after the peace.

"The party of warriors from the mills having joined their companions early in the day, and then, preparation was made for their homeward march. They knew from the escape of the men from the deserted cabin, and their observations at the mills, that the settlement below was aware of their vicinity, and that further attempts at that time would be useless.

"The Indians engaged in this massacre were Delawares and Wyandots, and from the best information subsequently collected from the prisoners, were about 25 in number. Before departing, they left a war club in a conspicuous place, which is their mode of letting their enemies know that war is begun, and is equivalent to a written declaration among civilized powers. As it was quite uncertain, whether the wounded Indian would live or die, lots were cast on the prisoners for one to be sacrificed as an offering to his spirit, and to fulfill their law of revenge. The lot fell on Isaac Choate. He was directly stripped of his own comfortable dress, and habited in that of the wounded Indian, all clotted and soaked with blood, and loaded with a part of the plunder; while his own clothing was put on his disabled enemy. As he was now a devoted victim, he was not suffered to travel in company with the others, but placed under the charge of two warriors who kept him a considerable distance in the rear, but generally in sight of the main body.

"By careful attention to their wounded comrade (no civilized people being more kind than the Indians to their disabled fellows), he finally recovered, and Choate's life was spared. Had he died, his fatal doom was inevitable. As soon as the distance and the short days of winter would permit, the party reached the British post at the rapids of the Maumee river; soon after which Colonel McKee, the Indian agent, redeemed Francis Choate from his captors. It is said that he was induced to this kind act from motives of humanity, and on account of his being a member of the brotherhood of Free Masons. In a few days he was sent to Detroit, and, embarking in a sloop, went down the lake to Niagara; and from thence through the state of New York to his home in Leicester, Massachusetts.

"His brother, Isaac, was taken to Detroit by the Indians at the same time, and falling in with a citizen of that place who traded with them, persuaded him to advance the ransom demanded; promising to remain there and work at his trade, as a cooper, until he could repay the money. By his diligence and activity, in a few months, he earned the sum required, repaid the debt, and returned down the lake to his home in the same way.

"Thomas Shaw was kept by the Indians at the rapids for some months, when he was redeemed by the noted Colonel Brandt, without any expectation of it being refunded to him again. He soon after went to Detroit and worked for a French farmer, near that place. Colonel Brandt met with him at that place, and, finding him an expert axeman and familiar with clearing land, persuaded him to go down and live with a brother-in-law, a physician, living on a farm, a few miles out from the fort, at Niagara.

"Young Philip Stacey died of sickness, at the rapids.

"James Patten, a middle aged man, was adopted into the family, and retained until the peace of 1795."

We have seen what effect the receipt of the news had upon the various settlements. It was not until the forenoon of Monday, the third, that the messengers, having lost their way, brought the direful tidings to Marietta. The court of quarter sessions had just opened, but it immediately adjourned that those in attendance might return to their homes. There were dreadful forebodings among them as they departed homeward. Realizing their unprotected condition, they had much reason to anticipate the probable result.

On the same day, the 3d, the agents and proprietors of the Ohio Company held a meeting. On the 5th they met again and continued to assemble daily until the 10th. At these meetings the state of the colony was discussed and resolutions were passed looking to the security and the protection of the settlements. Governor St. Clair being absent, the judges of the court were addressed and asked to represent to the general government the condition of the country. On the 7th of January the court appointed Charles Green as an express to carry their views to Philadelphia.³

The situation at Marietta was indeed alarming. The news of the disastrous Harmar campaign only tended to increase their apprehensions. They were sufficiently acquainted with the Indian to believe that unless immediate relief could come to them that the settlements north of the Ohio were doomed. The Indians had said that before the trees would again put forth their leaves, not a single smoke of the white man should remain on this side of the river.

³ MSS of Prof. M. R. Andrews.

At Fort Harmar there was but one small detachment of troops, about twenty men, under command of Captain Ziegler. Because of the governor's absence, no militia from adjoining states could be called. At this juncture the old veterans, schooled in the Revolution, took the initiative, and proceeded at once to put the colony into as good a state of defense as possible. The outlying districts were ordered abandoned and the people centered at Marietta, Belpre, and Waterford. The Ohio Company provided for systematic defense. New block-houses were built at these places and the local militia was detailed to do garrison duty. Spies and scouts were employed to scour the woods to prevent sudden attacks by the savages. Campus Martius was also repaired and made better by an outer wall or palisade. The expenses incurred, amounting to about eleven thousand dollars, were met by the Ohio Company. It was expected that Congress would reimburse the company, but the expectations were never realized, and the entire amount was a dead loss.⁴

General Putnam was most active in representing to the government the true condition of the settlements. On January 6th he addressed a letter to Caleb Strong and Fisher Ames, members of Congress. He likened the position of the settlers to that of children who have been invited by their parents to gather plums under a hornet's nest, and then have the nest beat over them without having been given notice to get out of the way or being covered while the hornets were provoked.⁵

Two days later General Putnam wrote to President Washington a full account of the recent attack. He went over the affair with minuteness, and in conclusion implored protection from the government. On the same day he dispatched a similar message to Secretary of War Knox.⁶

We know that the efforts of the Mariettians for relief were successful, for the following summer a company of United States troop was stationed at Fort Harmar. Everything was placed in readiness for an Indian attack, which fortunately never came. The disastrous campaign of St. Clair had no direct results on the

⁴ Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications, Vol. 2, page 230.

⁵ Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications, Vol. 2.

⁶ MSS of Prof. Andrews.

Muskingum, while the very successful expedition of Mad Anthony Wayne served as the grand *finale* of that chapter in Ohio history of which Big Bottom is a part.

Again from behind the frontier palisades issued forth the intrepid pioneer. Up the beautiful little river and its winding creeks went that army of the "Heroes of the Forest." Where, on that winter's eve the war whoop of the savage was heard, there was now the merry song of the axe. The cabin was built. The clearing grew apace. Primitive boats laden with the first fruits of the great west floated down the silvery current of the "Elk Eye." Later came the whistle of the steamboat, echoing from the high hills on either side. Prosperous farms and villages dotted the fair valley and over it all breathed the benediction of "well done."

The old block-house and its unfortunate occupants passed into a memory. In the march of progress its decaying logs had been cleared away. The pioneer plow turned its furrow over the graves where unhappy victims of the massacre were sleeping. Seed time and harvest, summer and winter passed in their tireless cycles, until three generations of sons and daughters had been born. Then began the second chapter of the history of Big Bottom.⁷

When in 1865, Mr. Obadiah Brokaw⁸ purchased the farm

⁷ James Ball Naylor, the poet and novelist has given us an interesting historical novel based upon the Big Bottom Massacre, "In the Days of St. Clair."

⁸ Obadiah Brokaw was born near Flushing, Belmont County, Ohio, May 16, 1822. His father was Benjamin Brokaw who came to Belmont County from New Jersey. His mother was Mary Smith. They were both of Dutch descent. About 1830 they moved to Morgan County, settling near New Castle in Meigsville Township. Mr. Brokaw yet remembers the great Muskingum flood of 1832 when White's Mill near his home was carried away. Mr. Brokaw attended the rude school of that pioneer day. The school at which he was a pupil was taught by Timothy Eastman, who later became citizen of Athens County. An abandoned dwelling built by a Frenchman named LeFord was utilized as a school building.

Living all his life except the first eight years upon the Muskingum, Mr. Brokaw has seen the gradual evolution of that stream from a pioneer highway for flat and keel boats until it has become a part of a great



MR. BROKAW.

on which Big Bottom Block House stood, tradition alone had marked the site of the massacre. In cultivating the ground, the owner noticed a difference in the soil at certain spots, and he determined in his own mind that the location of the block house as popularly recognized was incorrect. He proceeded at once to make excavations, and soon discovered charred wood, ashes and other remains of the destroyed building. Beneath it all he exhumed the bones of some of those whose lives had been lost in the Indian attack. Thus convinced, Mr. Brokaw has during these many years carefully preserved the exact site. Realizing from his advanced years that soon the land would pass into other hands, he felt a desire to have the place properly marked that those of the future generations might read a lesson from the pages of pioneer history. Without financial aid from any one he at once contracted with the Jones Monumental Works of McConnellsville, Ohio, to erect for him a fitting monument. The work of placing the monument was personally supervised by Mr. C. L. Bozman, of Beverly, Ohio, on Friday, May 28, 1905. It consists of a marble shaft whose apex is twelve feet above the

system of internal navigation. He tells of the riffle in the river at Big Ludlow, where the flooded mill stood. A sand-bar was in the center of the stream. In order that boats might pass over the riffle the United States government at an early date built a dam on one side of the bar that the water might be thrown into the one channel. In Cleveland's administration when it was desired to secure some testimony concerning the early government work on the Muskingum, Mr. Brokaw and Captain I. N. Hook were the only two living witnesses who could testify to this first federal work.

At McConnellsville, Robert McConnell had built a similar dam. It was impossible to get canoes through with the strength of four men. Mr. McConnell built a set of locks at his own expense. When the government took charge of the Muskingum improvement, these private locks were destroyed. Many iron rods had been used in their construction. Mr. Brokaw then in his teens and a blacksmith's apprentice, helped to get this iron from the water. Their method was to make long handled chisels with which they could reach beneath the water and cut the iron bars. He also helped build the government dam at Stockport.

At the age of seventeen Mr. Brokaw was apprenticed to Amos

ground. The shaft proper, is an octagon seven and a half feet high. On one of the faces are inscribed these words: "ERECTED BY OBADIAH BROKAW, 1905." The shaft stands on a limestone base which in turn rests on another base of concrete. On the front of the limestone base is carved, "SITE OF BIG BOTTOM MASSACRE, WINTER OF 1790." On the two sides are to be found the names of those killed, as follows: "JAMES COUCH, WM. JONES, JOSEPH CLARK, ISAAC MEEKS, HIS WIFE AND TWO CHILDREN, JOHN STACEY, ZEBULON THROOP, EZRA PUTNAM, JOHN CAMP AND JONATHAN FAREWELL." On the rear of the base are the names of those escaped: ASA BULLARD, ELEAZER BULLARD AND PHILIP STACEY. The monument displays excellent workmanship. It stands in a beautiful meadow near the public road and only a few rods from the bank of the river. It is plainly visible to passengers on the passing boats.

On the day after the erection of the monument, the writer happening in the neighborhood and learning of Mr. Brokaw's patriotic act, visited him at his home. During the conversation that ensued the idea of transferring the monument and site of the block house to the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society

Conoway, a blacksmith. Here he learned the art of making edged tools at which he soon became a master and at which he has worked for over sixty years. It was in the days before the machine made product was in the market. The result was that the demand for his handiwork was immense. The axes, mattocks, butcher-knives and corn cutters made on his anvil are almost without number. Even to-day he is kept as busy as he cares to be at his trade for the people will not allow him to stop.

In 1843, Mr. Brokaw was married to Miss Czarina Fletcher of Meigs County. The six children born to them are yet living. In 1905, some time after the decease of his first wife, Mr. Brokaw was again married to Mrs. Lydia Daugherty Ellis.

The farm upon which Big Bottom Blockhouse stood and where Mr. Brokaw has lived for forty years was purchased by him in 1865. It is said that the original purchaser of the land made enough maple from it to more than pay for its cost. Near the block house the settlers of the community for a numbers of years buried their dead. This old cemetery now containing but one rude gravestone is located on the land now possessed by the Historical Society. Robert Henry, an old settler in the vicinity, told Mr. Brokaw that on the sight of the blockhouse a second growth of young timber grew before the surrounding land finally cleared.

was suggested to Mr. Brokaw. Subsequently, on August 17th, Secretary Randall, Mr. C. L. Bozman and the writer visited Mr. Brokaw, who offered to transfer to the Society the monument and two acres of surrounding land, on the condition that Mr. Brokaw be elected a life member of the same, and further, that the Society provide for the proper care of the monument and land transferred as an historic park and monument, keeping said property securely enclosed and protected from destruction and injury by the public and maintain the same as a free public park. These negotiations were approved and accepted by the Executive Committee of the Society on August 28th, 1905.

Steps were at once taken for the proper dedicatory exercises that should mark the formal transfer of the property to the Society. A committee on arrangements, consisting of Secretary Randall and the writer was appointed to arrange a program for the occasion. The latter being designated as chairman of this committee, appointed a sub-committee of citizens of the Muskingum Valley, consisting of Superintendent of Schools Richardson, of McConnellsville, Superintendent of Schools Brown, of Stockport, and Mr. C. L. Bozman, of Beverly. The day selected for the commemoration was Saturday, September 30th. The event brought out a vast concourse of people, estimated at about four thousand. It was a good-natured crowd, and everybody seemed to enter into the spirit of the occasion. Mr. Brokaw, the generous donor of the historic site, was the recipient of many congratulations from his fellow citizens.

The program proved to be of great interest to the people. It was begun by the writer, who after a short address, introduced Secretary Randall, the presiding officer of the day. The Stockport band, which had been secured, interspersed the program with musical selections. The addresses which follow were given in the order named: Secretary Randall, President Brinkerhoff, Judge William B. Crew, of the Supreme Court, Trustee W. H. Hunter, of Chillicothe, Trustee M. R. Andrews, of Marietta, Hon. Tod B. Galloway, Secretary to the Governor, and Trustee D. J. Ryan, Columbus. James Ball Naylor, the poet and novelist, closed the exercises with an original poem written for the occasion.

ADDRESS OF C. L. MARTZOLFF.

It is said that a minister's text is but a peg upon which to hang his sermon. If I were a minister the peg upon which I would hang this speech would be found among the jewels of the wonderful mines of King Solomon — The Book of Proverbs. "Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set."



C. L. MARTZOLFF.

Man has ever been a monument builder. When the Israelites fought with the hosts of Amalek, when the hands of Moses were stayed by Aaron and Hur until the going down of the sun and the Amalekites had been put to the sword, then it was that Moses builded an altar as a memorial of the

great victory.

When David the warrior king sent forth his mighty Joab to wage war upon the Edomites, he celebrated his success by a monument of triumph, an inscribed tablet carved on the rocks of Edom after the manner of eastern kings.

But centuries before the Hebrews built their rude memorials among the hills of Palestine, the monarchs of the Orient had erected upon the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile, monuments to commemorate their achievements in war, or to extol the glories of royalty.

We are told that at the portals of the sculptured palaces of Nineveh, there were colossal figures of men and beasts carved from white alabaster; that within the interior stretching for miles and miles, the builder of the palace ranged the illustrated record of his exploits. There cut in the walls were represented vast processions of warriors, and satraps, and eunuchs, and tributary kings winding and winding through the corridors until the mind grows dizzy with the regal splendor and the heart grows sick at the vanity of kings.

To-day the antiquarian digs down beneath the accumulated dust of the centuries and from the broken pieces of pottery and the ruined columns he reads its history.

We cross the borders of Asia and along the banks of the Nile we tread the soil of the Pharaohs. We look about us and see the wonderful pyramids erected by Egyptian kings to glorify their names while living and to cover their poor carcasses when dead. We can still see the millions of tribes wearing away their lives to satisfy the caprice of princes. Here in this land of plenty, capable of sustaining in comfort its entire population, amid all this wealth there is hunger and misery and woe among the people, that those above them may live in luxury. Even yet to-day the Egyptian peasant knows only to suffer and to die.

A Roman Titus may build an Arch of Triumph to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem. He may show upon it how he led the Hebrews captive bearing upon their shoulders the golden candlestick, the trumpet of Jubilee and other treasures from the Temple on Mount Zion.

A Napoleon in imitation of the Roman Cæsars, builds two triumphal arches to celebrate his victories and to proclaim his mighty genius. But such is the irony of fate that at the foot of the grandest of these arches in 1814 the allied armies met to rejoice over the downfall of its builder; and here again in 1871 the victorious arms of Prussia emphasized their victory over the last of the Napoleons.

Fortunate is he whose words have become flesh and dwell among men. No need for him to erect marble tablet or obelisk to tell the world what he hath wrought. But deep in the souls of men is it inscribed in letters of fire that shine out with no uncertain light in their daily lives.

To the "Father of his Country" there needed not be built a monument of his works. The patriots at Bunker Hill need not the shaft to tell men that they fought and died there. The heroes of Gettysburg, where they wore the Blue or the Gray, need neither tablet nor cenotaph to show that they bled there. Far more imperishable than marble or bronze is kept the testimony of their patriotism among the sons of men.

In olden times kings erected monuments in their own honor. All this has changed. We now erect in honor of others. It is the people who live afterward, who have inherited the patrimony and who appreciate that heritage, that now erect memorials and

preserve the "landmarks of their fathers." We do not erect monuments to the departed simply to show what they did, but rather what we are doing with the memories and inheritance which they left us. We erect monuments not so much to show the character of the patriotism of the past, but rather the quality of our own. The monuments we erect typify our aspiration and our labor.

As long as people erect monuments in honor of the deeds of their fathers so long is that people tolerably safe from drifting into the shallows of anarchy and personal and class aggrandizement, where many nations and people in times past have been wrecked and gone to ruin and decay and their wrecks are strewn along time's fretful stream.

Monuments are the expression of the thoughts of the people. They show what the people are thinking about. When people complain about setting up memorials in honor of their fathers, or when they cease to erect them, it is a premonition that they believe in no longer and appreciate no more the sacrifices and labors of their sires. It means that they are ready to cut away from old moorings and venture upon new seas, with neither compass nor chart.

While it was justified to no little extent, such was the condition in France in the Revolution of 1789. A spirit of iconoclasm and anarchy swept over that fair land caring nothing for their historic heroes and kings because they represented to them tyranny and oppression. And yet in that boiling sea of rebellion the memory of men that had been an honor to France was allowed to go down into the universal maelstrom.

But here in America it is different. Here monuments are the free, voluntary declaration of a free people. Here monuments tell us who our heroes are. And if you would know the character of a people, learn the character of its heroes.

It is certainly a matter of congratulation that in this age of extreme commercialism, when the hero, or rather the heroine of most men is the Goddess of Liberty stamped on the dollar and the portraits of our national heroes have no better place in our lives than to adorn our bank notes, that men and women are

yet to be found who do not want to "remove the landmarks of the fathers," but are willing to preserve and remark them.

The erection of this monument is not only appropriate but opportune. We erect memorials to our national military heroes and to our presidents and statesmen. And why not to the American pioneer? While we build to commemorate the achievements of the battlefield, why not, too, to the heroes of the forest? When we send up a shaft to mark the site where men fell when fighting under the impelling stress of battle, why not to the men who laid down the axe to take up the rifle and defend wife and little ones?

Heroes of the war there may be, but every man who came to the woods of Ohio to make for himself and his children a home is no less a hero. To this man there was not the shrill voice of the fife, nor the rattle of the drum to call him to arms. There was not the sight of flying colors to beckon him to do and dare. There were no comrades keeping step to the martial music nor officers to tell him what to do. But instead he fought in the kingdom of the woods. In the days of the reign of the axe, he walked his domain as a knight errant of old. In this kingdom of the forest he stood the king.

The heroes of a thousand battlefields do not appeal to me as do these heroes of the forest. The chronicles of a Cæsar or a Napoleon telling us how men strive for the vain bauble of an imperial diadem, do not mean to me so much as do the simple annals of the poor, where we learn how brave men and women fought with the forces of untamed nature, wild animals and wilder men, in order that they might become kings and queens whose palace is the home.

The men and women, therefore, who went to their death here, amid the cries of the blood-curdling war whoop, are representative of that noble army of pioneers that came to the woods of Ohio, not for adventure, but for the best of God-given institutions—home. They are types of that migrating instinct that has been the genius of progress in the Anglo-Saxon-Teutonic race, from the time when from its home in Asia it spread its successive ways over Low Europe and established the world powers in modern history. Then beyond the Atlantic, Puritan and Cavalier separately established the genesis of a new nation. Then from

the rocky fortresses of the Appalachians, Puritan and Cavalier looked down together upon the fair valley of the Ohio. To them it was as the revelation to the prophet on Pisgah — the Promised Land. They were permitted to enter. But to hold it they fought with stubborn tenacity. Every foot was contested. But forward went this army across the prairies of Indiana and Illinois until the smoke curled from the settler's cabin on the banks of the Father of Waters. Then pressing on it swept across the western plains. The Rocky Mountains were no barrier and on their western slopes and in the valleys of sunny California and where "rolls the Oregon" went the pathfinders of civilization. And now through the portals of the Golden Gate we send forth our ships to that new old land in which the world seeking Genoese dreamed lay his El Dorado.

To this hero of the forest — hunter, scout, pathfinder, trail-maker, home-maker — we dedicate to-day this monument as a memorial to his sacrifices and services and bravery, with the firm and confident hope that the new generations now reaping the fruition of that toil will husband the splendid inheritance left us by such men as fell beneath the tomahawk of the ruthless savage on the banks of the Muskingum on that winter evening over a century ago.

ADDRESS OF E. O. RANDALL.

This is a red letter day for the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. For many years it has been the custodian of Fort Ancient, the most extensive and majestic earth enclosure of the Mound Builders in this country and for a somewhat less time has been the owner of Serpent Mound, the most mysterious religious relic left by that vanished and wonder-exciting race. Through the praiseworthy sentiment and generous disposition of Mr. Brokaw the Society becomes the proud possessor of this historic ground, the site of one of the most memorable events in the pioneer period of our state. The story of the birth of the American Republic and its sturdy strife for independent exis-



E. O. RANDALL.

tence is unique and powerful. The little nation born of the colonies that fringed the Atlantic coast looked longingly to the west for opportunities of expansion and growth. Neither Athenian annals nor Roman records present pages so fraught with recitals of perilous adventure, strange incident, indomitable courage, persistent progress, unflinching patriotism and matchless heroism as are revealed in the accounts of the dauntless discoverers and intrepid pathfinders who penetrated their way across streams and swamps and through the forest fastnesses of the untrodden west. Then follows the soul-stirring story of the settlement of the Ohio Valley, and the transformation, almost in a generation, of a "howling wilderness" into the peaceful and prosperous garden spot of civilization — the Buckeye commonwealth. The poetic classic that tells of the search of the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece is not comparable to the simple but splendid prose epic describing the journey of the little band of Revolutionary veterans which organized in the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern," journeyed over the snow-clad mountains, where the foot of the white man had never trod before, to Simrall's Ferry on the Youhiogheny and thence in the "Galley Adventure" floated down the Beautiful River and made landing and lodgment at the mouth of the Muskingum, upon whose picturesque and peaceful banks we are now assembled. The details of that settlement and the pushing out of the more venturesome members to the location of this spot will be told by other speakers. My personal interest and ancestral pride rests in another section of the state. I am a Western Reserver — a descendant of the Yankee section of the New England emigration to Ohio. My forebears were in the frontier settlement business. My grandfather and grandmother on my mother's side were in the party of David Hudson which left the Nutmeg State in the year 1800 and proceeded overland in ox-teams to the shores of Lake Ontario — thence in flat-boats to the Niagara River, drawing their floats around the mighty cataract and pulling along the shore of Lake Erie to the Cuyahoga, up which they ascended, finally founding the town of Hudson.

Many an hour in my early boyhood days have I sat spell-bound while listening to the tales which my mother told of the trials and adventures which grandfather and grandmother related

to her. Real adventures in the Wild West. One in particular indelibly impressed my youthful mind. The incident is that once upon a time the larder of the little log cabin in which they lived gave out and the cupboard was bare. Grandmother in the emergency repaired some two or three miles to a neighbor's cabin for the loan of provisions. She started back with the basket of pioneer edibles, chief among which were numerous chunks of "jerked" venison. She was overtaken by some wolves which frightened her into greatest possible speed for her cabin. It was one of those occasions when "be it ever so humble, there's no place like home." As her hungry and fierce pursuers gained upon her she deftly threw out a chunk of the venison, a sort of a sop to Cerebus, over which they would stop to wrangle; during their contest and delay grandmother was sprightly sprinting for the home goal; the bait having been fought over and devoured, another dash of the wolves would again bring them close upon the heels of their fleeing victim. Another chunk of venison was thrown out as the second prize for their competition. This perilous act was encored several times until the last piece was hurled at the pack just as grandmother breathlessly reached the cabin door. As grandmother encountered this thrilling experience some years before the birth of my mother, it follows that had not that stock of "jerked" venison held out, I would not be here to-day to regale you with its faithful recital. You can believe me that in recognition of that preservation, venison has ever since been "deer" meat in our family.

We are here to-day to commemorate, by the dedication of this simple and substantial shaft, a tragedy in our western pioneer history that reminds us most forcibly of the unparalleled perils, sufferings and sacrifices of the Ohio pioneers. Truly the cornerstone of this state was laid in blood. Our New England forefathers fought the British soldiers and the despised ally, the Hessians. But it was civilized warfare. The Ohio pioneers fought the British and his ally, the cruel, bloodthirsty savage. Immortal history was written on the banks of the Maumee, the Miamis, the Sandusky, the Scioto, the Muskingum and the Tuscarawas, a history of more lasting benefit to mankind than that written on the banks of the Tiber, the Danube, the Rhine, the Seine, or the

Thames. It was upon the hills and amid the valleys of the Ohio rivers that the final struggle ensued between the Saxon and the savage. It was here the Redman, child of the forest, took his stand and defiantly and desperately declared he would retreat no further, but instead would drive the pale face intruder back over the Ohio and beyond the Alleghanies. It was the most bitterly contested racial war in the annals of man. It opened with the Conspiracy of Pontiac (1763) and continued with varying degrees of fierceness for fifty years until the Confederacy of Tecumseh, the greatest warrior of his race who yielded not till defeat and death overtook him at the Battle of the Thames (1813). Ohio was the rallying ground of the great Indian nations—here were born and here fought the most illustrious chiefs, Pontiac, Cornstock, Logan, Little Turtle, Tarhe, Tecumseh and a score of others renowned in war, in the chase, and in oratory. Within the boundaries of our state, moreover, were enacted some of the most eventful scenes of the American Revolution. The British western headquarters were at Detroit, the American western headquarters were at Fort Pitt. The sparsely located settlers of Ohio and Kentucky were between the two. The war was that of infuriated savages, spurred on by unscrupulous, treacherous and shrewd British soldiers and officers. Their weapons were not merely the flint lock but the tomahawk and the scalping knife. The Eastern Colonists knew little of the horrors of warfare endured by the western frontiersman—a warfare continued for twenty years, from the Battle of Point Pleasant on the banks of the Ohio (1774) to the Battle of Fallen Timbers on the banks of the Maumee (1794). It is a tragic and unprecedented history.

It is difficult, almost impossible, for us who are assembled here to-day, gathered from hundreds of homes of comfort and luxury, to realize that this spot, now the center of a picturesque and peaceful landscape, with its flowing river, tree-clad hills, grain-enriched fields and thriving village was little more than a century ago the scene of a horrible, blood-curdling massacre, a fiendish slaughter in which the darkness of the forest was illumined by the flames of the burning hut, and the stillness of the valley was broken by the gruesome war cries of the savages and the shrieks

of their defenseless victims. As with the magic of a wizard's wand, civilization has changed the picture.

Daniel Webster in his resplendent oration at the dedication of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1825 began with these words: "We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are in our times compressed within the compass of a single life." He then in magnificent rhetoric described the progress of American history during the fifty years beginning with the Battle of Bunker Hill and ending with the date of the dedication of the monument before which he stood. If it were possible, how much more eloquent might have been Mr. Webster's words were he here to-day to compare the incredible progress of American life in the three-quarters of a century following the date of the dedication at Bunker Hill? At that time the population of this country was but twelve million and the western movement had scarcely crossed the Mississippi. To-day we number eighty millions of people and our vast republic reaches with almost evenly distributed enterprise from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Mr. Webster closed his speech wishing "By the blessing of God may this country become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever." We have more than fulfilled the optimistic faith of the great orator. The plucky and persevering pioneers who fought and bled and died in the conflict with the relentless savages for the conquest of this fair Ohio Valley, builded better than they knew. The Ohio Valley, particularly that portion between the Great Lakes and the River, the Alleghany Mountains and the Wabash, has given to the Union one of the brightest gems in the jeweled crown of states. The survivors of the Revolution, wearied and worn, homeless and poverty stricken, sought this fair country for homes in their declining years and for a heritage to their children and their children's children. The soil of Ohio was made sacred by the dust of the three thousand Revolutionary soldiers who were buried beneath its sod, and that precious patriotic seed brought forth loyal fruit an hundred fold, for it was Ohio that furnished

three hundred thousand soldiers in the great Civil War that was to cement and weld into one indissoluble federation the nation the forefathers made independent. With filial reverence we erect monuments of marble and tablets of brass upon the sites most memorable in the storm and stress of the early pioneer days. But greater than all the memorials of art to noble founders are the products of industry, progress, prosperity and humanity, which their sons have reared upon the firm foundation laid by their ancestors. Beneath the floor in the crypt of St. Paul's, London, lie the remains of Sir Christopher Wren, the great genius who built that temple, a spacious altar scarcely second to any reared to a Christian faith. On the little bronze plate that so modestly marks the last resting place of the great architect, are these words: "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*" (If you seek his monument, look about you.) And so we say to-day, if you seek for the monument of the patriotic pioneers, look about you and behold our grand and stately commonwealth, with its crowded cities, its teeming villages, its freight-laden thoroughfares, its marvelous, unrivalled and world-inspiring civilization.

ADDRESS OF GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF.

As President of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society it is not incumbent upon me to make an extended address but simply to accept the obligation imposed upon us by the state to properly care for, in the future, the monument, which we are here to-day to dedicate.



GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF.

We are here also to remember and commemorate the event which this monument perpetuates.

We are here also to remember gratefully the many other sacrifices made by the early settlers of Ohio in building up the civilization we now enjoy.

At this place where we are now gathered, in the late autumn of the year 1790, one hundred and fifteen years ago, twelve settlers were slaughtered by the Indians.

This was the first massacre and the principal one, during the Indian war then just opening.

Marietta had been settled two years before, and Big Bottom, as this place was then known, was an overflow from that place and comprised altogether thirty-six persons.

The year before several other settlements were established from Marietta, but thus far this was the most remote.

No state in the Union was settled by a more worthy or enterprising class of citizens. They were largely the soldiers or sons of soldiers of the Revolutionary War. Many were college graduates, and practically all of them were well educated, and they brought to the west the very best civilization of the east.

Ohio at that time was an unbroken wilderness filled with wild animals and wilder men, and to conquer it the highest courage and ability were required. The result was the founding of a state which in all the requirements of a high civilization has no superior. Even in wealth and population to-day there is no state in the Union that equals it if we leave out the great cities of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, which are mainly foreign and not native.

The men or women, therefore, who founded this state and gave their lives to its development and established the institutions we now enjoy, are well worthy of remembrance and honor by those who come after them and now enjoy the fruits of their labors and sacrifices.

What these labors and sacrifices were, will be indicated in the address of the distinguished speakers who are here to-day and to whom I now give opportunity to be heard.

ADDRESS OF JUDGE W. B. CREW.

When I look over this audience and see here this afternoon so many friendly and familiar faces, I feel that I need hardly assure this company that I am glad to be with you on this occasion. It is always a very great pleasure to me, upon any occasion, to meet and greet my friends and neighbors of good old Morgan, the county of my birth. And I think I may be pardoned for saying that on this occasion the pleasure is doubled

by reason of the fact that I find myself in such distinguished company. And I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and through you, the society under whose auspices these exercises are held, for the courtesy which has afforded me the opportunity of being with you on this interesting occasion. If I remember rightly, it was Isaak Walton who said in his "Angler," that Dr. Botelier was accustomed to remark, "that doubtless God might have made a better berry than the strawberry, but doubtless He never did," and I suppose that I but voice the sentiments of this company, and assert a truth, when I say, that doubtless there might have been a better place to be born in than Morgan county, but doubtless no such place exists. And those of us who are to the manor born, but whose business has for a season called us into other fields, are, I assure you, always glad to get back home.



W. B. CREW.

My friends, I came here to-day at the kind invitation of my friend, Mr. Randall, not as one of the orators of this occasion, and not expecting or intending to make a speech, but I came, doubtless as most of you have come, only that I might, as a citizen of Morgan county, testify by my presence my appreciation and approval of what has been done by one of our patriotic, public-spirited fellow-citizens, Mr. Brokaw, in erecting, at his own expense, this beautiful monument, which he has generously donated to The Archæological and Historical Society of Ohio, to the end that there may be preserved and perpetuated the memory of one of the greatest, if not the greatest historic event in the pioneer history of Morgan county. This upon his part was certainly a most generous and gracious act, and I want here and now, for myself and for you, as citizens of Morgan county,—for whom I think I may assume to speak on this occasion,—to thus publicly thank Mr. Brokaw for his generous gift.

As we have been so eloquently told by Prof. Martzoff, this custom of erecting monuments or tablets to commemorate great happenings or events of public interest, is a custom of great antiquity; as old perhaps as the centuries themselves. And when

we consider that but for this custom and the preservation of these monuments and tablets, much that we now recognize and accept as historic truths would have been lost to us and all future generations, it is matter of earnest congratulation upon our part, that this monument, which we are met here to-day to dedicate, has been donated to, and has been formally accepted by the Archæological and Historical Society of Ohio. For we feel and know that its acceptance by this Society gives abundant assurance that with such a custodian, it will be so cared for and preserved that in the years to come it will remain in place to tell its sad historic story. That this may be so, and that many years of health and happiness may yet remain to its generous donor, is, I am sure, the earnest, heartfelt wish of each and all of us.

ADDRESS OF W. H. HUNTER.

I am a Presbyterian and believe in destiny as did Mr. Brokaw, whose ancestor I surmise, was Abraham Brokaw who settled in what is now Nottingham township, Harrison county, in 1798, and who with others organized the Nottingham Presbyterian Church in 1802. He believed in destiny; that the pioneer followed at the right hand of God and nothing was done not directed by Divine power. I can see destiny in the horrid massacre of the pioneers on this spot and which we commemorate to-day. It pointed the way to the achievement which is the great state of Ohio.



W. H. HUNTER.

That massacre called the attention of the authorities at Philadelphia to the need of a strong arm; it called attention to the fact that there really were settlers beyond the Alleghanies.

But you may ask why did not Harmar and St. Clair, when they took up arms save the hour? Had they succeeded the treaties would have made the English line at the Ohio river instead of at the lakes. Their defeats only pointed the way for the intrepid Anthony Wayne, whose victory at Fallen Timbers and whose treaty at Greenville ended the Revolutionary War as the

Battle of Point Pleasant Treaty twenty years before was its beginning. Had the pioneers been successful in that conflict the Americans would not have rebelled. It would have shown the impossibility of success.

But Colonel Lewis was successful, and Anthony Wayne was successful. The Revolution culminated in independence, but not for Ohio until Wayne fought the last battle that gave our people instead of England the land upon which we now stand.

England could not be induced to accept the provisions of the Treaty of Paris as it related to the Northwest, whose conquest was made by George Rogers Clark, and she persisted in her claim to the land northwest of the river Ohio, and she persisted in sending her savage allies into the settlements hoping to thus make American settlement impossible.

The incursion that massacred the settlers at the place known in history as Big Bottom, called attention to England's intention as God directed, and Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne, under the same powerful Director, made it possible for us to dedicate this monument.

ADDRESS OF PROF. M. R. ANDREWS.

The young men who came to this spot a hundred and fifteen years ago formed the extreme outpost of the New England settlement that had been made at Marietta two years earlier. It is almost impossible for us now to realize the difficulties and dangers which beset those struggling colonies. I doubt if there were more than two thousand actual settlers on this side of the Ohio, from the Muskingum to the Miami, when the little band of pioneers were massacred at this place. On the edge of this great territory small parties of bold men watched and toiled, waiting for the time when British agents would cease to send the savage on his errands of murder. The first seven years of the settlement along this border was, as has already been said, a continuation of the Revolutionary War, which began at



M. R. ANDREWS.

Point Pleasant and ended at Fallen Timbers. After Wayne had made a treaty with the Indians, and Jay with the British, the occupation of the savage was gone, and the settlements began to extend beyond the banks of the rivers.

Yet long before this consummation, even within the period of border warfare, these pioneers from New England, officers and soldiers of the Revolution, began to make arrangements for the education of their children. They were determined that "religion, morality and knowledge" should "be encouraged" from the very beginning. In the first winter Major Anselm Tupper taught a school in the Marietta block-house, and in the first summer Manasseh Cutler had suggested Harmar Hill as a suitable place for a university. The rapid settlement of the Scioto country so changed the center of population that a few years later General Rufus Putnam found it expedient to choose another site — Chandler's Hill — where Ohio University now stands. Ere this was done the citizens of Marietta had taken steps towards having an institution for higher education in their own town. Within a year after the close of the Indian War they began Muskingum Academy, from which grew Marietta College. The first body of emigrants to this valley, those from New England, have left us, then, two worthy monuments of their zeal in behalf of higher education, Ohio University and Marietta College.

When peace had been established the Western Reserve was opened for settlement, and from that time New England sent comparatively few to "Muskingum," as this whole valley was then called. The hardy yeomen of Virginia came across the country and occupied the land north of the Marietta settlements. Their path is marked by the names of Monroe and Morgan counties, commemorating two of Virginia's distinguished sons. North of these and mingling with them came the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, building Presbyterian churches and academies and preaching "righteousness, temperance and judgment to come." Some of those academies have grown to Colleges, and one of them, Muskingum College, though little among the tribes of Israel, has sent out many a Saul to lead the people. A college that has given us the Finleys, the Stevensons and such

university presidents as Dr. Thompson and Dr. Harper deserves grateful remembrance from the whole people.

North of the Scotch-Irish zone there came from Pennsylvania to the Muskingum, as the Tuscarawas was then called, the Moravians to occupy the land where their disciples, the Christian Indians had been murdered. John Heckewelder, the pioneer of this movement, had visited this valley as early as 1762. A group of Moravian churches in Tuscarawas county remains as a fitting memorial of his Christian labors.

Early in the nineteenth century immigrants from Germany and Ireland came in considerable numbers to this valley. Their settlements are marked by Lutheran and Catholic churches.

The blending of all these elements could not be accomplished at once. Even the native Americans had little acquaintance with their neighbors from other states, and there were differences in faith and in customs which for a time kept the little groups asunder. I have often heard a tradition of a New England family that was surrounded by Virginians. A girl from this family had gone on some errand to the cabin of a neighbor. While she was there a child exclaimed, "Mother, give her a piece of bread. I want to see how a Yankee eats." There were also differences and mutual prejudices between Americans and foreigners, but comradeship in battling with the wilderness changed these feelings into sympathy and respect. The American soon learned that the Irishman or the German was as handy at a log-rolling or a raising as any other man, and these learned in their turn that the Yankee or the Virginian was not unwilling to be neighborly. Whatever traces of old differences remained were obliterated by the storm of Civil War. The strife which, for a time, divided the nation united the section. In the regiment to which I had the honor to belong, as well as in others raised in this valley, there were worthy descendants of all these classes. Cavalier and Puritan, Catholic and Protestant, German, Irish, and American, were all united in defending a common country, and thus in the fiery trial of war all the elements were fused into a united people.

ADDRESS OF TOD B. GALLOWAY.

If I were to ask you what I should talk about, I suppose you would answer me as the small boy did in Sunday School one day when a man got up and said, "Now, children, what shall I talk about?" and the bright boy said, "about one minute." I am somewhat like an old Scotch preacher I once heard of: A man went to church one day, and he noticed that the preacher was crying a great deal during the delivery of his sermon. Finally the stranger turned to an old lady who was sitting near him. "What makes your preacher cry so much?" he asked her. She answered, "Hoot mon, if you dinna have more to say than he has, you would cry too."



TOD B. GALLOWAY.

So if you see great streams of tears running down my face before I finish talking you will know the reason of it. It happened to be my good fortune to be sent with other gentlemen representing the commission appointed by the Ohio Legislature to investigate the State Hospitals erected for the care of those afflicted with tuberculosis; one of the places we visited was the town of Rutland, Mass. After we were through our investigation of the splendid hospital at that place, I happened to wander through the old town of Rutland, and soon found myself standing before the historical Putnam house, and by a strange coincidence I stood there on the anniversary day on which that band had started out from that home, and it struck me with peculiar force that we were from Ohio endeavoring to carry out a splendid purpose, that of erecting a hospital for the care of those unfortunately afflicted with disease, just as our forefathers had left the little town of Rutland, Mass., to aid others of their nationality to procure homes in this wilderness.

Little did I think on that April morning as I stood there that I would be privileged to be here on this occasion, at the dedication of this monument, erected to commemorate the massacre of the sons of that splendid band of pioneers who set out to people this valley. My friends, we of Ohio do not have to

search history other than that of our own state for noble ideas. The story of the foundation of our state and its progress is like a romance.

Well did Washington say in the dark days of the Revolution when he was questioned as to what he would do if he met defeat, that he would come out here and settle in the valley of the Muskingum. Several years ago a friend of mine, a lady of Ohio, met an English woman whose whole idea of America was based upon a winter spent on a ranch in Colorado, and she said to this lady: "What do you raise in Oao?" "We call it Ohio, and we raise chiefly great men and women." And that was a very apt reply, my friends, because that is what we have done in this state from its foundation. We have, from the days of the passage of the ordinance of 1787 down to the present time, been in history. It is useless for me to try to explain to you what Ohio has done for this Union; you already know. I merely want to say that a day like to-day marks a patriotic epoch; and also, that it is particularly gratifying to me to see so many children here, because they learn by precept, and a day like this is a wonderful object lesson to the citizens of the future. You know in former times it used to be the custom when they wanted to mark boundary lines between two places they would take the children out and whip them and the children remembered where they were whipped, and in that way the record of the boundaries was preserved. I think this is on the same principle.

ADDRESS OF D. J. RYAN.

I congratulate Morgan county and I congratulate our society on this occasion in doing honor to itself and credit to the people of this county in remembering in the manner that they have the noble pioneers who went before them, of a century ago, and I congratulate Mr. Brokaw on living to see the day when his judgment and patriotism inspired him to contribute something that will bear in the mind and keep the memory green of the younger generation, of those men and women who laid the foundation of this commonwealth. The greatest thing that Ohio has are its plain men and women who live among the hills and on the plains, and that consecrate their lives to the dignity and

nobility of the home. It is greater than all the wealth and all the power and all the fame that is won on any field, be it the field of commerce, the field of finance, or the field of war; greater than the greatest money magnate of to-day; more loved in the memory of the people of Ohio is the memory of these people who lived a century ago, and who gave up their lives and became martyrs to the progress of the state of Ohio in order that its great foundation might be built like unto that of a stone. The state of Ohio is great; this state of Ohio has taken the position that it has in history because the best blood, the best brawn, and the best brains of America contributed to lay the foundation of Ohio, and we assembling here to-day do more honor to ourselves than even we do to their memory; nothing that we can do or say to-day can consecrate this ground any more than it was consecrated when the wonderful act was performed by which this people were made martyrs to the development of Ohio.

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D. J. RYAN.

I do not think Mr. Randall has said as much as he ought to have said about our society; it was founded in 1885 by General Brinkerhoff, Allen Thurman, Rutherford B. Hayes and Mr. Sessions. The object of this society is, in the midst of all this rush and bustle to turn backward and to perpetuate by monument, by speech, and by writings the deeds and acts of our forefathers. It is good for the people to be reminded that there was a great solid race that preceded them; it is well that in this age when men think of nothing but chasing the almighty dollar that some organization be formed for the purpose of preserving the memory of the deeds of our forefathers in order that their sons may not forget them entirely. We are not here to-day to share in this honor; we are here simply as your agents, believing that we meet the expectations of your patriotism. Whenever and wherever this society can do anything to make the memory of Ohio greater or to perpetuate the memory of her former sons, she does it with the approval of the people of Ohio.

This state was the thoroughfare for all the races and all the people in their struggle to reach the west. Its foundations were laid by the very best brains of this country, when that great American stream of settlers founded this composite Ohio.

Wherever you look you will find the Ohio man; and as long as we have The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society to perpetuate the greatness of the Ohioan, and mark the places where they have accomplished their great acts, Ohio will live long in the history of the country.

DR. NAYLOR'S POEM—"THE HARDY PIONEER."



J. B. NAYLOR.

When the century old was dying
And the new was waking to birth,
When the shortening days were flying
Like the shadows across the earth;
When the speeding months were a-shiver
In the fall of the fading year,
To the banks of the bonny river
Came the hardy pioneer.

No castle secure and massy,
No orchard or field of grain,
No meadowland smooth and grassy
Found he in his vast domain;
For the earth in its pristine glory
Knew naught of the tiller's ban —
And the solitude lisped the story
Of a land unspoiled by man.

But the woods were his for the asking,
And the streams at his door, and the fish —
While the game on the hillsides basking
Was the fruitful fact of his wish.
And the nuts, in a fit of vagrance,
Dropped into his waiting hand —
And the fall flow'rs shed their fragrance
Over all the bounteous land.

His home was a log-built cottage,
His hearth was a bed of clay;
And a pone and a mess of pottage
Were his at the close of day.
No longer had he to stifle —
His domain was the trackless wild;
And his dogs and his flintlock rifle
Stood next to his wife and child.

The sun, in its midday splendor,
Lent cheer with its kindly light,
And the moon, wan-faced and tender,
Smiled down on his cot at night.
But his heart was a-dread with the vastness,
And a-chill with the Frost King's breath —
And afar in the forest fastness
Lurked the skeleton shade of Death!

The old year died — and was shrouded
In a mantle of spotless white,
And the pall of his bier beclouded
The moon and the stars from sight;
But the settler, safe in his shelter —
Where the flames on his hearth leaped high,
Cared naught for the fearsome skelter
Of the North Wind moaning by.

But is that the voice of the mourner
A-wail through the leafless trees,
That brings the gaunt hound from his corner —
And the child to his father's knees?
Ah, no! 'Tis no night wind benignant
That the poor settler knows so well;
'Tis the sound of the awful, malignant,
And devilish Indian yell!

Small need is there now for reciting —
Meager need for the poet to tell

How the brave pioneer fell fighting,
How his dauntless wife fought and fell.
Let the autumn breeze whisper the story,
Till the rustling reeds quiver and wave —
Till the goldenrod showers its glory
O'er the pioneer's lowly grave.

As for us — when the spring flow'rs are peeping
From the frost-freed mould beneath,
And the ice-freed river is leaping
Like a flashing blade from its sheath,
Let us gather the first wild beauty
We can find on the brown earth's breast,
And place it here — as a duty —
Where the pioneer lies at rest.

And again — when the summer is dying,
And the year is growing old,
When the russet leaves falling and flying
Fetch a message of coming cold,
Let us deem it a noble pleasure
Once more to assemble here
And bring a late autumn treasure
To the hardy old pioneer.

Thus in the "falling of the year" almost one hundred and fifteen years after the first scenes were enacted at Big Bottom, a patriotic people assemble, and with music, speech and poetry do honor to the noble army of pioneers, who gained for them the land they now hold, and to the venerable man who has given over to his fellow citizens, a perpetual memorial to the "winning of the west" and to his own generous spirit.

The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society willingly accepts the guardianship of this historic site. It feels that as a state institution, organized for the purpose of furthering interest in our state's history, that it can do nothing better than to aid in preserving for the coming generations, the "land marks of the fathers."

AN INDIAN CAMP MEETING.

REV. N. B. C. LOVE.

The greater part of the following data the writer had from Levi Savage in 1885. He was at this time old and blind, but in possession of his mental faculties. His memory seemed clear and tenacious. I wrote down at the time what he said, word for word and from this written account I draw also from government and church publications. A camp meeting was held by the Christian Wyandots on the east side of the Sandusky river, opposite the "big spring," in August, 1839. We must remember that the various Indian tribes of Northern and Western Ohio had only a few years before been deprived of their reservations and the Wyandots a few years later, in 1842, of theirs.

In all this the Indians were greatly wronged by the government. The Wyandots' reservation was twelve square miles with Upper Sandusky near the center. There was less than a thousand Wyandots on the reservation. There were a few located over Ohio and Canada. The whites were settling all around and land speculators were clamoring for the Wyandot's fair heritage. The instinctive desire of this tribe to perpetuate their tribal character prevented them becoming citizens and receiving land in serveralty.

Many whites lived in the bounds of the reservation, but did not own a homestead, but were there for hunting and traffic.

The camp ground was beautifully timbered and located near the river. The large native trees, the white oak, walnut, the hickory nut, elm and sugar were there in all their primal grandeur. The banks of the river were hedged with sycamore, buck-eye and iron wood, while the grapevines in rich profusion entwined them.

The underbrush was cleared away, including the saplings of dogwood and pawpaw, while the more stately trees were left standing. They stood like columns in a great temple, while their large limbs from forty to seventy feet above the ground entwined

and bore aloft the domes of green leaves. So dense was this covering the rays of the sun seldom came through.

The tents were the Indian wigwam, bark structures of poles and bark, and log cabins built of poles. The wigwams were in appearance like large corn shocks, and the bark tents were built square with upright poles with crutches at the upper end, on which were poles, and on these long strips of elm bark newly peeled from the tree.

The chinking of the cabins was of moss and coarse grass. Of course the furnishings were rude and simple, although the Christian Indians had adopted the customs of the whites in their homes, cooking and dress. The cooking was done out doors. The tents were arranged so as to enclose about half an acre of ground. At one end of this wall of tents was the preacher's tent. It was about sixteen feet long and on its side facing inward was the preacher's stand or pulpit. The Indian saw mill supplied the plank for its elevated floor and front and seats for the speakers. It was the place of honor. The altar in sight of all the people where the called prophet of God served to the Master's sheep in the wilderness the bread of life.

Besides these structures were a few cloth tents, made of linen and white which added to the picturesqueness of the whole scene.

Five stands, made of poles and covered with clay, had on them at night the glowing fires lighting up "God's own temple" as were lighted the forests before with fires of burning captives.

The Indians had learned to cultivate the soil, and their squaws and daughters to spin, weave and cook. The Christian Indians were industrious and had at this time an abundance of the products of the soil.

The men and women sat apart in the congregation. The children were with their mothers and the dogs which were plenty, remained with their masters or in or about the tents. These were taught good behavior on public occasions. There was service before breakfast and at 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and night. There was seldom less than 200 people present at even the smaller meetings and in the great congregations as many as 2,000 on the Sabbath—Indians, whites and negroes. They were then from Negrotown,

above Fremont, Wyandot and Round Head and Solomon Town, near Lewistown, and points east and south in Ohio.

There were a few Indians of other tribes present, for they did not all leave their reservations together. Some were slow to leave the land God gave them and the graves of their fathers. The Wyandots, with the other aborigines of Ohio, felt a grievance that the government was fully set on dispossessing them of their reservations.

Three years later, 1842, the Wyandots sold out to the government for a mere trifle of a price, a part of which was a large area of land beyond the Mississippi, which they failed to get, but bought a few thousand acres from the Cherokees. It is true the government gave each Wyandot, after years have passed land in severalty and some money, making them citizens and no longer wards of the nation. The Christian Indians did not hold the Christian people or ministers responsible for their political misfortunes. They knew the spirit of Christianity was kindness, good will and justice. When they assembled they prayed not only for the conversion of the Indians but the whites also.

No doubt Mononcue, Summendewot, Between-The-Logs, Big Tree, and other noted chieftians were here. There were also present missionaries. James Wheely at this time was one of the missionaries. Levi Savage said that Jonathan Pointer was there as interpreter and was in his glory. He was a negro, and had a large amount of vanity. Wm. Walker, the Sub-Indian agent acted as interpreter. Of course the Indian preachers needed no interpreter when preaching to Indians. The audience was attentive and orderly, although many were heathen Indians. "Big Tree preached a sermon," said Mr. Savage, "I shall never forget. He preached in Wyandot, and it was interpreted. He became very eloquent and at one time shouted the praises of God. The congregation caught the spirit, and many joined him in praise. The white Christians, too, felt that to them a day of pentecost had come. They were under the influence of the gospel at this camp meeting and many convicted of sin. They realized the fact of their sinfulness as never before, and the blessed Christ heard them and set them free, causing them to rejoice instead of

weep. The gospel is ever the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

No doubt the soul of John Stewart, who died in 1837, two years before, was happy in heaven when the news of the salvation of the heathen, at this camp meeting, was reported by and to the angels of God.

An Indian with stentorian voice called the worshipers together, when songs in English and songs in Wyandot were sung, alternating so in prayer and speaking.

Mr. Savage thus described the well-dressed heathen Indians who were present and were in behavior perfect gentlemen. "The men wore a breech clout or cloth, covering their hips up to the waist and hunting shirt of blue, with fringes of silver ornaments, leggings of dressed buckskin and moccasins of heavy buffalo hide. Over all these was worn gracefully a blanket. Many of the men and most of the women had their hair plaited and hanging outside the blanket. These well dressed Indians generally went bareheaded or else wore a bandana handkerchief. When at their dances and feasts they painted and wore head dresses of feathers and brilliant beads. The women wore a shirt or gown, which came below the waist, about their person from the waist down below the knees, they wore wrapped about them several yards of cotton cloth, or a petticoat, then leggings of buckskin and moccasins. The blanket or shawl was worn over their heads and body."

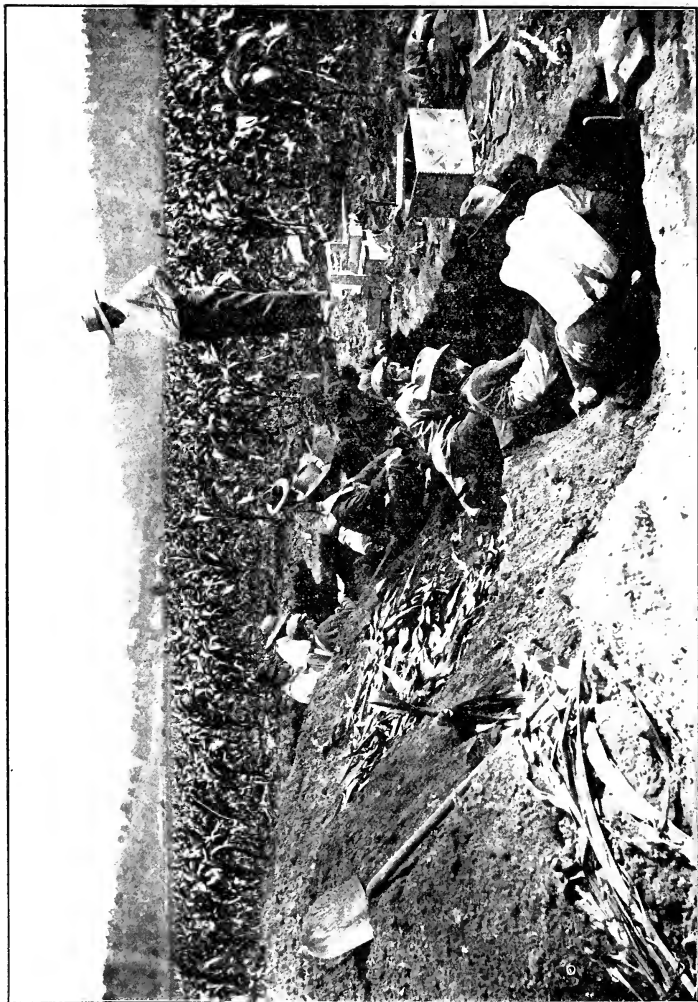
Although this camp meeting had been held twenty years before I was first at Upper Sandusky, yet on the old camp ground on the river bank there were the remains of some cabins built by the Indians; and hunting in the mound I only found a gun flint.

The historical incidents connected with the Wyandots, and their wars, civilization, exodus, and final settlement in Kansas has been only partially published. There are in the hands of descendants of the pioneers who were contemporary with the Wyandots old letters, memorandums, account books, and newspapers and other documents of interest, if collected. The writer has quite an amount of this kind of material and would be glad to have more.

Christianity did much for the Wyandots. It saved them from annihilation by drink and licentiousness, and while they ceased to be a tribe, yet some of the best blood of the nation is Wyandot. Intellectually they were at the head of the Indian tribes. In all the treaties with the Indians of Ohio they are the first mentioned and at Wayne's treaty in 1795 and before and afterward their chieftains stood at the head as orators and diplomats. Many of the Indian tribes are now under Christianizing and Americanizing influences and are increasing in numbers and attaining to intelligence and property.

Toledo, Ohio.





AT WORK IN THE VILLAGE SITE.

BAUM PREHISTORIC VILLAGE.

WILLIAM C. MILLS.

The Baum Prehistoric Village site is situated in Twin Township, Ross County, Ohio, just across the river from the small borough of Bourneville, upon the first gravel terrace of Paint Creek.

The Paint Creek valley is drained by Paint Creek, a stream of irregular turbulence, flowing in a northeasterly direction, and emptying into the Scioto River, south of Chillicothe. The Valley, at the site of this village upwards of two miles in width, is surrounded on the east and west by high hills which are the landmarks of nature, but little changed since the days of the prehistoric inhabitants.

Spruce Hill, Fig. 1, with steep slope covered with a dense forest, towers above the surrounding hills on either side. The top of this hill is made a veritable fortress by an artificially constructed stone wall, enclosing more than one hundred acres of land. This fortress would no doubt furnish a place of refuge to those who might be driven from the extensive fortifications in the valley below, which are in close proximity to the mounds and village of those early people.

Looking to the south and east from the village site, one can see lofty hills rising in successive terraces, no longer covered with the deep tangled forest, but transformed by the woodman's axe, and now under cultivation, producing the golden corn, which is our inheritance from primitive man who inhabited the Valley of Paint Creek many centuries ago.

The village extends over ten acres or more of ground, which has been under cultivation for about three-quarters of a century. Almost in the center of this village, near the edge of the terrace to the west, is located a large square mound. This mound and the earthworks which are directly east of it, have been known since early times as the landmarks of the early settlers in this section of Ross county. The mound was first described by Squier

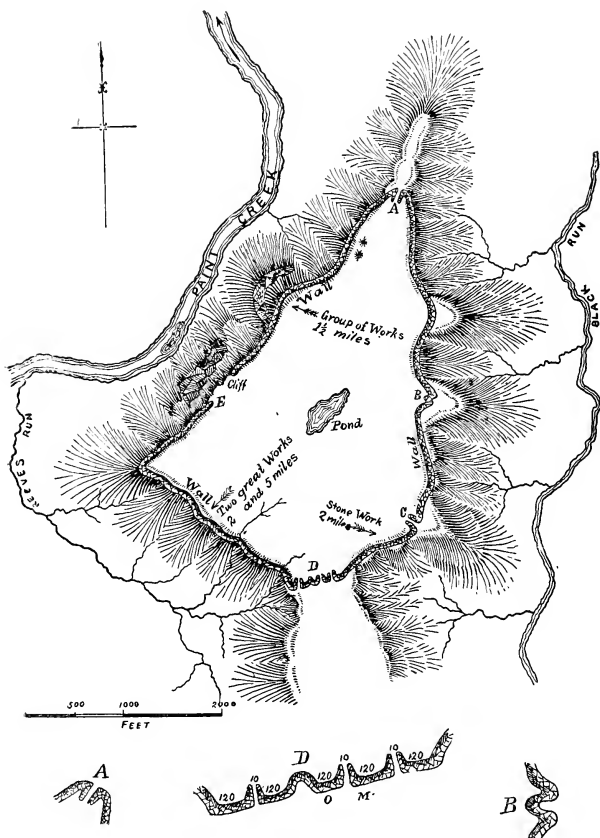


FIG. 1 — Spruce Hill.

and Davis in 1846, in their *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, page 57, where they give a description and drawing of these works (Fig. 2). However, Squier and Davis do not mention the fact that a village was present, nor that they knew of the village, as is shown by their description. "This work is situated on the right bank of Paint Creek, fourteen miles distant from Chillicothe. It is but another combination of the figures composing the works belonging to this series, just described;

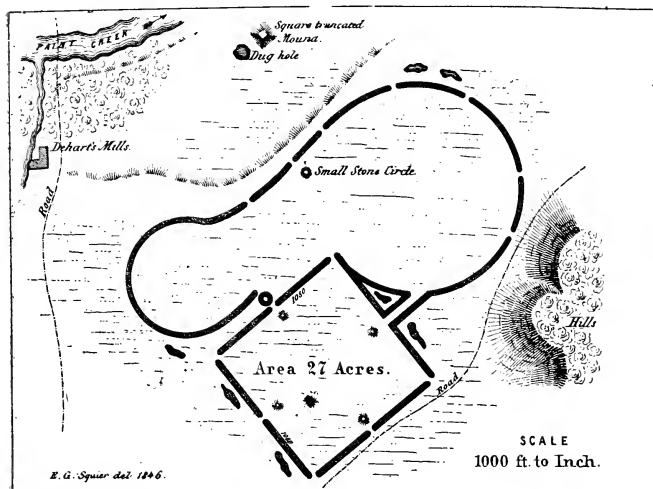


FIG. 2—Baum Earthworks (After Squier & Davis). The village site surrounds the square truncated mound marked on the drawing.

from which, in structure, it differs in no material respect, except that the walls are higher and heavier.

It is one of the best preserved works in the valley; the only portion which is much injured being at that part of the great circle next to the hill, where the flow of water has obliterated the wall for some distance. The gateways of the square are considerably wider than those of the other works—being nearly seventy feet across. A large, square, truncated mound occurs at

some distance to the north of this work. It is one hundred and twenty feet broad at the base, has an area fifty feet square on the top, and is fifteen feet high. Quantities of coarse, broken pottery are found on and around it. A deep pit, or dug hole, is near, denoting the spot whence the earth composing the mound was taken." This description, though meager, attracted the attention of the Bureau of Ethnology, and they sent a field party, under the direction of Mr. Middleton, to explore the mound, and I herewith quote from the twelfth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1890 and 1891. "The mound was composed for the most part of clay, mottled considerably with black loam and slightly in some places with patches of a grayish, plastic lime. Cross trenches were run due north and south and east and west, respectively. The breadth of these at the side was from five to six feet, but as they penetrated inward they widened gradually, so that at the center the excavation became thirteen feet in diameter. Considerable lateral digging was done from these trenches to uncover skeletons and other indications appearing in their sides.

"Two series of upright postmolds, averaging five inches in diameter equidistant ten inches, and forming a perfect circle twenty-six feet in diameter, constitute a pre-eminent feature of this mound. Within these circular palings the mound was penetrated systematically by thin seams of fine sand, sagging in the center and averaging one foot apart. Resting upon the natural black loam at the bottom, timbers averaging eight inches in diameter radiated from the center, and in the south and west trenches were noticed to extend continuously to the posts. These timbers were detected, for the most part, by their burnt remains and also by the molds of dark earth in the yellow clay, produced by the decomposition of wood. Directly over these timbers was a horizontal line of decayed and burnt wood, but mostly decayed, averaging half an inch thick. The upright postmolds of the lower series were very distinct and measured five feet in vertical height. In one was found a small sliver of what appeared to be black walnut. Several of them contained the burnt remains of wood, and in many of these instances the black bark was clinging to the sides.

"Separating this from the superstructure, as will be seen by

reference to Fig. 3, was a thin, sagging streak of burnt clay. Here and there upon its surface scant traces of black wood ashes were seen, while a small quantity of white bone ashes lay scattered upon its western border. This burnt streak overlaid a thin sand seam, below which it seems it could not penetrate. The post-molds of the superstructure consisted of a double row, the outer one being uniformly directly over the lower series in a vertical line, and separated from the latter entirely around the circle by a solid line of gravel. The two rows of the upper structure

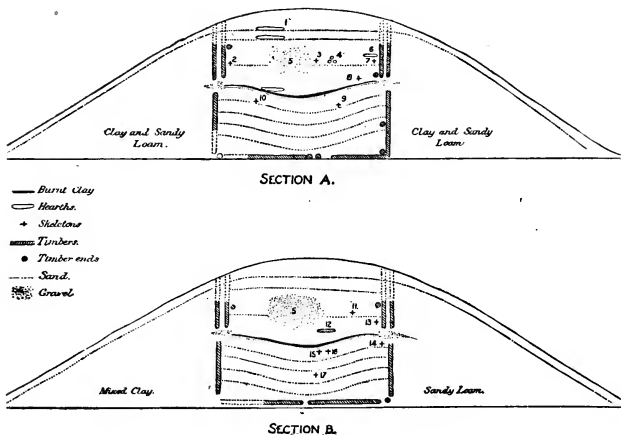


FIG. 3— Cross sections of the Baum Mound. (Middleton, B. E. Report 12.)

averaged eighteen inches apart. Both might have extended originally above the surface of the mound, since they were discovered between one and a half and two feet beneath the surface, which had been considerably plowed. Horizontal timber molds a little smaller in diameter, filled, in places, with charcoal, could be distinctly seen lying against the side of each line of posts at the points shown in the figure. These appear to have been cross beams or stays used for bracing purposes. In the eastern trench a gap, three feet wide and two inches deep, was noticed by the absence of postmolds in both upper and lower series.

"All the skeletons discovered were in the area inclosed by these posts. The skeletons unearthed were all in a remarkably good state of preservation. None of them could have been intrusively buried, for the stratification above them was not disturbed. All excepting Nos. 15, 16 and 17 lay upon one or another of the thin seams of sand.

"With skeleton No. 1 a bone implement was found at the back of the cranium, and an incised shell and fragments of a jar at the right side of it. With No. 3, which was that of a child about ten years old, a small clay vessel was found five inches behind the cranium. At the left hand of skeleton No. 8 was a shell such as is found in the sands of Paint Creek. A bone implement was at the back of the cranium of No. 9. With skeleton No. 11, were found a lot of small semi-perforated shell beads, and two bone implements directly back of the cranium. By the right side of the cranium were the perfect skull and jaws of a wolf, and beneath these were two perforated ornaments of shell. In the right hand was a shell, such as is found in the creek near by, while in the left was a pipe fashioned from stone.

"At the right of the feet of this skeleton was the extremity of an oblong ashpit, about four feet long and two feet broad and one foot ten inches in depth. It was filled with white ashes which were evidently those of human bones, since none but human bones could be identified. In these ashes and compactly filled with them, was an earth pot. It lay at the right of the feet of skeleton No. 11. It was lifted out of the ashes with great care, but the weight of its contents and its rotten condition caused it to break in pieces before it could be placed upon the ground. Numerous other pieces of pottery of a similar character were found in these ashes, and it is not improbable, from the indications, that all these ashes were originally placed in pots before interment. A perforated shell disk, two inches in diameter, and a lump of soggy sycamore wood were gathered from the ashes. Neither wood nor shell bore any signs of having been burnt.

"Skeleton No. 15 lay seven feet deep and a half foot below the general burnt streak. It was originally covered with a wooden

structure of some kind, for the cores of two red cedar timbers were resting lengthwise upon the body and the burnt remains of probably two others could be plainly seen on each side, placed parallel to those upon the body. This red cedar was still sound, but the white wood which envelopes the red cores seemed to be burnt entirely to charcoal. The indications are that these timbers were originally one foot above the body, for the earth to that extent over the whole length of the body was very soft. The timbers were noticed to extend slightly beyond the head and feet, while the head upon which they lay was upon its right side. The earth above them was a mixture of clay and fine sand and peculiarly moist. The length of this skeleton to the ankle bones was six feet and one inch. Two bone implements were found at its head, and at its right side near the head were two fragments of polished tubes and a hollowpoint of bone, which appears to have been shaped with a steel knife. Three bone implements were found beneath the right elbow of skeleton No. 13."

I have quoted at some length from the Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, because it is the only account we have of the material taken from the mound, which is located almost in the center of the village site.

However, the contents of the mound are not available for inspection, at the U. S. National Museum, and we are compelled to rely upon the description and drawing given by the explorer, Mr. Middleton, both in regard to mode of burial and the artifacts placed in the grave. So far as I am able to judge by having before me the description of the explorations of the mound and the implements, ornaments and pottery found in such profusion with the burials in the village, I would say that the builders of the mound were isochronological with the dwellers in the village. The bone arrowpoint mentioned in the latter part of the quotation as having the appearance of having been shaped with a steel knife, was duplicated many times in every section of the village, and was simply an unfinished arrowpoint, having been worked with a heavy piece of flint used as a scraper, and not as one would use a steel knife. An ordinary pocket glass will reveal the concave appearance of the cut, and at the same time show the scratches made by the uneven fracture of flint. I have dis-

cussed at some length the making of arrowpoints, from the tips of the tines and the toe bones of the deer in the Explorations of the Gartner Mound and Village site, *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 2.

In 1897 Dr. Loveberry, under the direction of Prof. Moorehead, examined a small portion of this village, and I herewith quote from the conclusions of Prof. Moorehead, which are found in Vol. 7, page 151, of the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.



FIG. 4—The village site, mound in the distance to the left.

“With other village sites of the Scioto this has much in common. While larger than the average, yet it can be said that it presents somewhat of a lower culture than others connected with great earthworks. It will be observed that there is not a great number of burial mounds within or without the enclosure. Those two to four miles west, along Paint Creek, may have been used by the occupants of the enclosure for their interments, but one cannot say positively. The character of the relics and the lack of evidence of high aboriginal art at this place are taken as evidence of the primitive character of the villagers. I do not

think that they were the same people who erected the earth-work, or of the same tribe. At Hopewell's, Hopetown, Harness's and the Mound City fragments of elaborately carved shells, rings, polished pipes, both effigy and platform, etc., have been found. None of these truly polished, ceremonial, or artistic objects were found in the ash pits or on the habitation sites of the Baum village site. The place is interesting in that it shows a lower degree of culture than that evinced on the sites above mentioned. This naturally brings forward the question — Is this a later occupation? Is it an earlier one? I am convinced that it antedates the construction of the works. I do not think it is of the historic period, and if Indian, of some tribe which knew little or naught of agriculture. No pestles were found. The bones of animals and the unios from the creek, found in such profusion, would indicate the presence of a hunting tribe. No foreign substances were present. Flint Ridge material was absent. Neither the effigy of the fox, nor the rude sculpture upon the pipe can be classed with the beautiful carvings of other Scioto Valley culture-sites."

From the above quotations it will be seen that the Baum Mound and Village Site has had some attention from the Archæologist and was considered by them of more than ordinary importance.

In the following pages I give a detailed account of the work of three seasons in the village, bringing to light forty-nine tepee sites which were more or less the permanent abode of the dwellers, one hundred and twenty-seven burials which surrounded the tepees and two hundred and thirty-four subterranean storehouses, in which were stored the winter supplies and which were afterwards used for refuse pits.

During the summer of 1899, I examined a section of the village which lays directly south of the mound, extending the work to the west, and finally ending the work of the season directly north of the mound. During the summer of 1903, I examined a large portion of the village directly east of the mound, and during the summer of 1902, sections were examined northeast of the mound, extending along the edge of the gravel terrace, directly southeast of the mound.

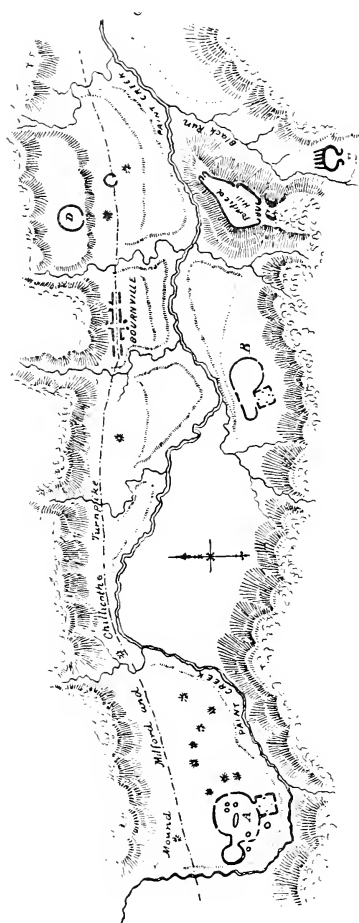


FIG. 5—Six miles of the Paint Creek Valley (Squier & Davis). (A) Scioto group of mounds and earthworks, (B) Baum group of mounds and earthworks, (C) Spruce Hill.

The examination of these various sections were made to discover, if possible, the extent of the village, as well as to ascertain the mode of life in the various sections, and whether the same people inhabited the village in all its parts.

The land upon which this village is situated has been owned by the Baums for more than three quarters of a century. At the present time the land upon which the village proper is situated is owned by Mr. J. E. Baum and Mr. Pollard Hill, and through the kindness of these gentlemen, I was not in any way restricted in my examination of the village; in fact, they assisted me in many ways to make the work pleasant and profitable. About three quarters of a century ago, Mr. Baum's grandfather cleared this land, which was then covered with a growth of large trees of various kinds, such as the black walnut, oak sycamore, and ash, and it has practically been under cultivation ever since. The top surface consists of from twelve to thirty-six inches of leaf mould, and alluvial deposit, which overlies a thin stratum of compact clay. Directly beneath this clay or hardpan, is found gravel.

During the entire examination of this village, something less than two acres of ground was dug over, and examined inch by inch by the aid of the pick, spade and small hand trowel, bringing to light the habitations and burial places of these early people.

No one living in this section, not even those cultivating the soil for the three quarters of a century mentioned, knew that the remains of a buried city of a prehistoric people lay only a few inches beneath the surface. As the examination progressed it was evident that a few pages, at least, of the history of remote time, were being revealed in the deep pits, which served as subterranean storehouses for the early agriculturists. A few more pages were brought to light when deep down in the clay, the burial grounds for each family were discovered, and still a few more pages when the tepee, with its fireplace, stone mortars, implements and ornaments, lying in profusion upon the floor of the little home, partially told in silent language of the great drama of life, enacted by those early people.

† herewith present a drawing, Fig. 6 of a portion of the

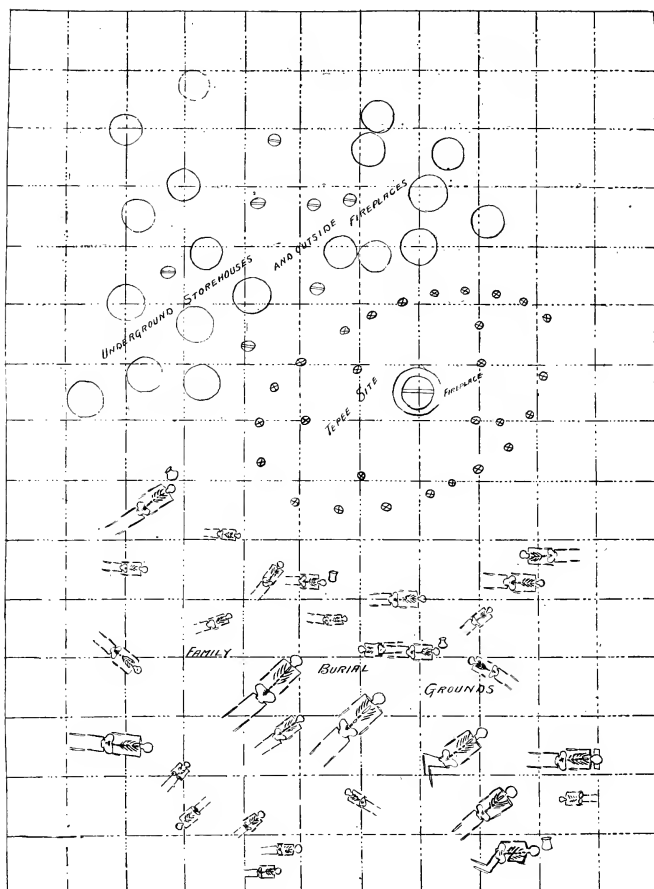


FIG. 6—Tepee site, surrounded on one side by the burial ground and on the other by underground storehouses.

village farthest to the northeast of the mound, which shows the site of a large tepee, the largest found during the explorations and, perhaps, the most interesting in this, that this tepee was never changed and always occupied the exact ground upon which it was originally built, while in many other instances the tepee was shifted from place to place, even occupying the ground used for burial purposes, and the deserted tepee site afterwards being used for the burial of the dead, or for subterranean store-houses. As I have stated, this tepee was the largest found in the village; of oblong construction and measuring upwards of twenty-one feet in length by twelve feet in width inside of the posts. The posts were large, as shown by the postmolds, and consisted of twenty-one set upright in the ground, the smallest being five inches in diameter and the largest nine and one-fourth inches. On the inside seven other posts similar in size to the outer ones were promiscuously placed, presumably for the support of the roof. The posts for the most part consisted of the trunks of small trees, with the bark attached, placed in the ground. The imprint of the bark was quite visible, but the trees all being young it would be impossible to identify from the bark the kind of trees used in the construction of the tepee. The posts were made the proper length by the use of fire, and no doubt the trees were felled by fire, for at the bottom of the postmolds charcoal was invariably found. The covering of the tepee evidently consisted of bark, grass or skins, as no indications were found pointing to the use of earth as a mud plaster in the construction of the sides or top. The fireplace was placed in the center of the tepee and was about four feet in diameter, six inches deep at the center and three inches deep at the edge, and had very much the appearance of having been plastered from time to time with successive layers of clay. The earth beneath the fireplace was burned a brick-red to the depth of eight inches. The original floor of the tepee had been made fairly smooth, but almost six inches of earth had little by little and from time to time been placed upon the floor. This earth had scattered through it implements and ornaments, both finished and unfinished, polishing

stones, broken pottery, hammer stones, a large stone mortar, and many animal bones, especially of the deer, raccoon, bear, and wild turkey. As the animals named were most likely killed during the winter season, one must infer that the tepee was the scene of domestic activities during the winter, and that during



FIG. 7 — Animal bones, mussel shells, broken pottery, mortars, hammer stones and implements of bone, stone and shell taken from the refuse pits.

the spring, summer and autumn the preparation of food was mostly done outside of the tepee at the large fireplaces marked upon the drawing (Fig. 6). However, the tepee described above is not typical of the village as far as size and shape and surroundings are concerned. The average tepee is about one-half the size and invariably circular in form, and the posts used in

their construction much smaller. The inside of the tepees are practically all the same. The surroundings of the tepee, such as the subterranean storehouses and the burial places, depend upon the size of the tepee. Surrounding the large tepee just described, to the south was the burial ground where thirty burials were unearthed, the largest in the village. Of these burials twenty had not reached beyond the age of adolescents, showing that sixty-six and two-third per cent. of the family group never reached the adult age. Fourteen of the twenty were under six years of age, showing that the mortality among small children was very great, being fully seventy per cent., not taking into account the four small babies found in the refuse pits which surrounded the tepee. The mortality of the young under the adult age in this family is greater than in any other individual family discovered in the village. Out of one hundred and twenty-seven burials unearthed in the village, seventy-four were under the age of sixteen, showing that fully fifty-eight per cent. of the children never reached the adult age. Of the seventy-four children under the age of sixteen, fifty-six were under the age of six years, showing that fully seventy-five per cent. of the children born to these early peoples died before they attained the age of six years, not taking into account the twenty-four very small babies found in the ashes and refuse in the abandoned subterranean storehouses in various parts of the village.

The burials of this wigwam group present another interesting feature, found in only one other part of the village, that of placing perfect pieces of pottery in the grave. Four burials representing five individuals, had each a pottery vessel placed near the head. All were carefully removed, but were more or less broken by freezing. The vessels have been restored and will be described elsewhere in this monograph. Two of the vessels were placed with adults and each contained a single bone awl made from the shoulder blade of the deer; a few broken bones of the deer and wild turkey were found in one, and quite a number of mussel shells with a few deer bones were found in the other. The other two vessels were placed in the graves of children.

One with a double burial, as shown in Fig. 6, a few broken bones of the wild turkey were found in the vessel, together with two mussel shells worked into spoons. The vessel was placed near the head of the older child, whose age would not exceed four and one-half years. Two large bone awls made of the heavy leg bones of the elk were placed outside of the vessel and near the head, while in all the other burials where pottery was found, the awls were placed inside of the vessel. The other vessel contained



FIG. 8 — Headless skeleton, with a large pottery vessel placed at the head of the grave.

bones of fish and a few small mussel shells, together with an awl made from the tibiotarsus of the wild turkey.

Another interesting feature of one of the burials of this group and which was not found in any other section of the village, was the finding of a fine-grained sand-stone slab, nineteen and one-fourth inches long by five inches in width by one inch thick placed under the head of the skeleton. The slab had the appearance of having been water worn, but had received an ad-

ditional polish by rubbing, the effect being noticeable over the entire surface of the stone. One side is perfectly plain; the other side, finely polished, contains three indentations about one-eighth of an inch deep, and three-fourths of an inch in diameter.

Another feature of this interesting group is the finding of a few copper beads associated with shell beads in one of the burials. This find is the only instance where copper was found during the entire exploration in the village. However, it shows that the denizens were familiar with and possessed this very desirable metal.

The refuse pits surrounding the tepee to the north were perhaps the most interesting in the village, for here abundant evidence was found showing that the refuse pits were originally intended and used for a storehouse for corn, beans and nuts, and perhaps, for the temporary storage of animal food, etc., and afterwards used as a receptacle for refuse from the camp. For some time I was of the opinion that the large cistern-like holes were dug for the express purpose of getting rid of the refuse, but as the explorations progressed I soon discovered their real purpose by finding the charred remains of the ears of corn placed in regular order on the bottom of the pit; and I was further rewarded by finding pits in various sections of the village containing charred corn, beans, hickory nuts, walnuts, etc., which had been stored in the pit and no doubt accidentally destroyed. Since completing my examination of the Baum Village I examined the Gartner Mound as well as the village site which surrounded the mound, and find that the two villages had very much in common. The family grouping and the subterranean storehouse were identical in every respect with those at the Baum Village, therefore, I quote from my report upon this village site, Vol. 13, page 128, publications of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, including a photograph of explorations at Gartner's showing the close proximity of the pits and the large number exposed at one time: "The refuse pits, which are so abundant in the villages of the Paint Creek valley, were present in great numbers and distributed over the village site surround-

ing the habitats of the various families. Fig. No. 9 shows ten of these pits open at one time. During the examination in the village, more than one hundred pits were found and thoroughly examined. The evidence produced by this examination shows that twenty per cent. of the pits examined were originally used for storehouses for grain, beans and nuts, and perhaps for animal food. These pits were lined with straw or bark and in some instances the ears of corn laid in regular order upon the bottom; in other instances the corn was shelled and placed in woven bags; in others shelled corn and beans were found together; in others hickory nuts, walnuts, chestnuts and seeds of the pawpaw were present in goodly numbers. All this was in the charred state, accidentally caused, no doubt by fire being blown into these pits and the supplies practically destroyed before the flames were subdued. The burning of these supplies must have been a great loss to these primitive people and may have caused them great suffering during the severe winters, but it has left a record of their industry which never could have been ascertained in any other way. The great number of pits found, which show conclusively by their charred remains their early uses, would lead one to believe that all the pits found were used originally for underground storehouses and by spring time, when the supplies were likely consumed, a general forced cleaning up of their domiciles and surroundings would occur and the empty storehouse would serve as a receptacle for this refuse, which was henceforth used for that purpose until completely filled. During the autumn, when the harvest time came, a new storehouse would be dug and the grain and nuts gathered and stored for winter use. The examination of the pits has brought out the above conclusions, as evidenced by the refuse therein. Near the bottom of the pits will invariably be found the heads of various animals such as the deer, with antlers attached, black bear, raccoon, gray fox, rabbit and the wild turkey, as well as the large, heavy, broken bones of these animals such as would likely be found around a winter camp. Further, some of the large bones showed that they had been gnawed in such a manner as to indicate the presence of a

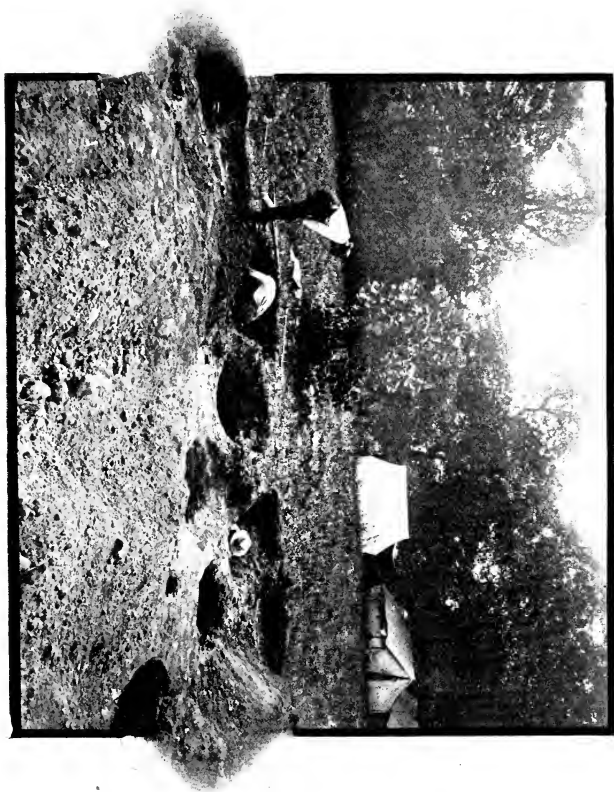


Fig. 9.—Refuse pits at the Garner Village Site.

domesticated dog, whose presence was further corroborated by finding his remains in every part of the village. Therefore, taking all these facts into consideration, one must necessarily infer that the spring cleaning took place and animal bones, broken pottery and the general refuse was thrown into the pits. Further, the remains of fish are seldom ever found near the bottom of the pits, but usually occur from the top to about the middle. Mussel shells are never found at the bottom of the pits, but are usually found near the middle or half way between the middle and top of the pit. We know that fish and mussels must be taken during the spring, summer and autumn and are certainly very hard to procure during the winter." The same conditions as described above were found at Baum Village.

Another notable feature in this village was the finding of the Indian dog, and I quote from my preliminary report, page 81, Vol. X, Publication of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society: "The bones of the old Indian dog were found in great numbers, and there is no doubt but that this dog was one of their domestic animals, for it is known that dogs were domesticated long before the earliest records of history, their remains being found in connection with the rude implements of the ancient cave and lake dwellers all through Europe. However, the history and description of the Indian dog, in the ancient times, is yet a subject far from solution. The remains of the dog found in this village site were described by Professor Lucas, of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, as being a short-faced dog, much of the size and proportions of a bull terrier, though probably not short-haired. Professor Lucas says he has obtained specimens apparently of the same breed from the village sites in Texas and from old Pueblos. Professor Putnam, of Harvard University, for more than twenty years has been collecting bones of dogs in connection with pre-historic burials in various parts of America, and a study of the skulls of these dogs found in the mounds and burial places in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Ohio, Kentucky and New York, and from the great shell heaps of Maine, show that a distinct variety or species of dog was dis-

tributed over North America in pre-Columbian times. Apparently the same variety of dog is found in the ancient site of the Swiss Lake dwellers at Neufchatel, also in the ancient tombs of Thebes in Egypt. Professor Putnam further says: "This variety of dog is apparently identical with the pure-bred Scotch Collie of to-day. If this is the case, the pre-historic dog in America, Europe and Egypt and its persistence to the present time as a thoroughbred is suggestive of a distinct species of the genus canis, which was domesticated several thousand years ago, and also that the pre-historic dog in America was brought to this continent by very early emigrants from the old world."

He further states: "That comparisons have not been made with dogs that have been found in the tribes of the Southwest, the ancient Mexicans, and with the Eskimo."

In the latter part of the fifteenth century Columbus found two kinds of dogs in the West Indies and later Fernandez described three kinds of dogs in Mexico, and as Professor Lucas has been able to trace the Baum Village dog into the far Southwest, it is very likely one of the kinds described by Fernandez. However, it must be admitted that comparisons have not been made with sufficient exactness to place the Baum Village dog with any of those described by the early writers.

During the entire exploration fifty bones of the dog were removed, representing perhaps as many individuals. Some of the bones showed marks of the flint knife upon them, others were made into ornaments, while others were broken in similar manner to bones of the deer and raccoon. Seven skulls were found, but all had been broken in order to remove the brain.

During the explorations at the Gartner Village, which is located six miles north of Chillicothe, Ohio, along the Scioto River, remains of the Indian dog were found in the refuse pits similar to those at the Baum Village, and their osteological character accord in every respect with the dog found at the Baum Village site.

FOOD RESOURCES.

From our examination of this village and the evidence revealed by the refuse pits and the sites of their little homes shows that these early inhabitants were not savages depending entirely

upon the wild food for their subsistence, but were barbarians having a settled place of abode, a developed agriculture, the storage of food supplies for future use, and the domestication of at least one animal, namely, the Indian dog, which of all animals would best show adaptation to his master's wants and pleasures.

ANIMAL FOOD.

It is evident from the large quantity of animal remains found in the pits, that the inhabitants of Baum Village site depended upon the chase for a very large part of their subsistence. Everywhere about the village, especially in the abandoned storehouses and in the sites of wigwams, the broken bones of various animals, that were used as food, were found in abundance. The abandoned storehouse was a veritable mine for animal bones. A memorandum of all the bones taken from one pit was made. The pit measured three feet and seven inches in diameter by five feet ten inches in depth and contained 375 bones and shells, some of which were mere fragments, while others, such as the leg bones of the beaver, groundhog and raccoon were in a perfect state. A summary of all the bones and shells is as follows: Virginia deer, thirty-five per cent.; wild turkey, ten per cent.; two species of fresh water unios, ten per cent.; gray fox, ten per cent.; raccoon, five per cent.; black bear, five per cent.; box turtle, five per cent.; the remainder of the bones being divided about equally between the groundhog, wild cat, elk, opossum, beaver, rabbit, wild goose, and great horned owl. By far the largest number of bones were those of the Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*). Out of twenty barrels of bones brought to the museum, fully thirty-five per cent. were of this animal. It will therefore be safe to say that thirty-five per cent. of all the animals used for food by these aboriginal inhabitants of Baum Village were the Virginia deer. At the Gartner Village, six miles north of Chillicothe, this animal constituted fully fifty per cent. of all the animals used for food.

The general characteristic of the deer at Baum Village was similar to the modern species. The antlers have a sub-basal snag beyond which the beam is curved forward and soon after forks

dichotomously, the lower fork again forking, presenting a beam with three practical vertical tines rising above it, thus demonstrating that the Virginia deer has remained practically unchanged since the time of these aboriginal inhabitants.

During the explorations three hundred and fifty lower jaws were removed from the refuse pits, which would represent about that number of individual animals. Of this number only one jaw has been removed in perfect condition, the others being more or less broken. Out of the three hundred and fifty jaws examined, fifty seven were from young deer under the age of maturity, and sixty-two were those of old animals having their teeth very much worn. In the remainder the teeth were in a perfect condition, and showed that the animal had reached the age of maturity.

Fifty skulls of this animal were procured from the refuse pits, and only two, or four per cent. of the fifty were females, and the remaining forty-eight or ninety-six per cent. were males. Seventy-four per cent. of the males were killed during the Fall and Winter seasons, while only twenty-two per cent. were killed during the Spring and Summer. The small per cent. of female skulls shows that aboriginal man, in the killing of animals, made a selection with reference to the perpetuation of the source of supply. Moreover, the great quantity of animals killed during the Fall and Winter, shows that the huntsman depended largely upon animal food to tide him through the Winter. In the other seasons, corn, beans and nuts of various kinds furnished him his subsistence.

Elk (*Cervus canadensis*) — Is the largest mammal found in the village. The bones of this animal are not abundant in the refuse pits, perhaps on account of the difficulty in securing such a large and fleet animal. Almost every pit would reveal a few bones, and these were broken into small pieces, not a single perfect large bone being found, as all had been broken into small fragments in order that every particle of attached food might be obtained. The large pieces of the heavy leg bones were made into awls and other implements, and the metapodal bones into scrapers; likewise every portion of the large antlers were utilized in the manufacture of celt-like scrapers, flaking tools and spear points.

Black Bear (*Ursus americanus*) — Appear in goodly numbers in every section of the village. Twenty-three broken skulls were removed from the pits, all having the posterior portions broken away in order that the brain might be removed. Seventy lower jaws were found, but all were imperfect, the defects being caused by the removal of the canine teeth, which necessitated destroying the jaw. The canines of the bear are the only teeth used for ornament, and are usually perforated with a small hole near the end of the root for attachment.

Wolf (*Canis occidentalis*). — Is another large animal found very sparingly in the refuse pits, and must have been very difficult to capture. During the entire exploration only one head was found with the teeth in place, although quite a number of upper and lower jaws cut into ornaments were found. The large leg bones were also broken into fragments or made into implements. The canine teeth were perforated near the end of the root for attachment. The posterior premolars were invariably removed from the jaw and perforated for attachment.

Mountain Lion (*Felis concolor*) — The bones of this animal are not met with in abundance in this village, although several of the large leg bones have been found as well as various portions of seven skulls. The broken bones are sparingly found in every portion of the village, and the teeth, such as the canines, the upper posterior premolars and the lower molars were perforated and used as ornaments.

Wild Cat (*Lynx rufa*) — The bones of this animal are found in great abundance in every section of the village. Portions of thirty skulls and parts of one hundred and twenty-five lower jaws were secured. Only a few perfect leg bones were found and these showed plainly the marks of the flint knife in removing the flesh from the bones. The canine teeth were much sought after for ornament and not a single lower jaw taken from this village has the canine teeth in place.

Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*) — The bones of the racoon are more abundant in this village than any other animal belonging to the order Carnivora, although every family of the order is represented. The bones for the most part were broken and not more than ten perfect femurs were secured. Thirty-five frag-

mentary skulls, one perfect skull and two hundred and twenty-seven parts of lower jaws were taken from the pits. The perfect skull was that of a very old animal. The upper canine teeth seem to be the only teeth selected from the raccoon for ornament. Many of the leg bones were made into beads, and the fibulas were invariably made into awls or perforators.

Gray Fox (*Urocyon virginianus*) — This animal was certainly plentiful in this section of the Paint Creek Valley, as the bones are found in every part of the village. During the explorations over two hundred lower jaws and over twenty fragmentary skulls were secured.

Indian Dog (*Canis*) — This animal was found in every section of the village and I have described this dog at some length in the preceding pages.

The dental formula is as follows :

$$\text{I. } \frac{3-3}{3-3} \quad \text{C. } \frac{1-1}{1-1} \quad \text{P. } \frac{4-4}{4-4} \quad \text{M. } \frac{2-2}{3-3} = 42.$$

The canine teeth of the lower jaw are quite large and strong, the inner edge of each being quite sharp. The first molar is large with chisel-shaped cones upon the surface of the anterior part of the tooth, while the posterior part is very large and flattened, but has a number of small cusps arising from the edge of the tooth; this molar is much larger than the second and third combined. In the upper jaw the first, second and third premolars are very much alike, although the first is single-rooted and not so large. The fourth premolar is very large, with cone-shaped cusps arising from the crown, the inner part chisel-shaped in form. The two molars are very different, although in general character alike, as the first is very much smaller than the second, and both set at right angles to the premolars. The outside of the anterior molar is made up of two large cone-shaped cusps, while the inside of the tooth is very large and flattened and the crown low; likewise the second molar has two cone-shaped cusps upon the outside of the tooth, but much smaller in size.

There is no doubt but that this dog was a domesticated animal and lived in the village, as proof of his presence is manifest in almost every section of the village by finding many large pieces of bones that had been gnawed. This discovery led

me to believe, even before the remains of the dog itself were found, that his presence in the village would be discovered. The dog was also used for food, as his bones were broken in a manner similar to those of other animals employed for food.

Skunk (*Mephitis mephitis*) was not found in abundance in the village, though almost every tepee site would reveal some broken bones of this animal. During the examination five imperfect skulls, two perfect skulls, and twenty lower jaws were found. The skulls were broken similar to other animals, in order to remove the brain, which was no doubt used for food.

Mink (*Putorius vison*) — The bones of this animal were occasionally met with in every section of the village. The bones of such a small animal would readily be destroyed by the Indian dog. Three perfect skulls, ten imperfect, and thirty-one lower jaws were secured during the explorations.

Otter (*Lutra canadensis*) — The remains of this animal are met with quite frequently. Twenty fragmentary skulls and parts of 23 lower jaws were secured. Not a single perfect specimen of the larger bones was found.

Fisher (*Mustela pennanti*) — The remains of this animal are sparingly met with and only two broken parts of the upper jaw with a portion of skull attached, and five lower jaws, were found among the entire explorations in the village.

Opossum (*Didelphis virginianus*) — The remains of this animal are found in more or less abundance in the village, although but few remains are found in the refuse pits. Twenty imperfect skulls and twenty-five parts of lower jaws were found. The upper canine teeth were much sought after for ornament, perhaps on account of their size and general appearance, being long and gracefully curved.

Ground Hog (*Arctomys monax*) — The remains of this animal were found in abundance in the refuse pits. One perfect skull, thirty imperfect skulls and one hundred and five parts of the lower jaw were secured.

Beaver (*Castor canadensis*) — The beaver is well represented among the animal remains found in the village. Fifty parts of skulls and about the same number of parts of lower jaws were secured. The incisor teeth were highly prized by aboriginal man

when cut and made into ornaments and cutting tools. The large leg bones were also found unbroken and might be considered the best preserved in the village.

Musk Rat (*Fiber zibethicus*) — The bones of this animal are not found as frequently as either the Ground Hog or the Beaver. One perfect skull and parts of three imperfect skulls were taken from the refuse pits.

Rabbit (*Lepus sylvaticus*) — The remains of the rabbit are found in all parts of the village. Two perfect, and parts of two imperfect skulls were found, but the large bones of the skeleton were everywhere abundant.

Gray Squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*) — The remains of the squirrel appear in great numbers, although but parts of two skulls were secured during the explorations, and then only in the last season's work in the village, however, the various bones of the squirrel were abundantly found in almost every tepee site.

Weasel (*Mustela vulgaris*) — The bones of this small animal are occasionally met with in the village, though it is reasonable to believe that the bones of this animal, as well as those of other small animals, would be totally destroyed by the Indian dog. Portions of three skulls and five lower jaws were found.

Rice Field Mouse (*Oryzomys palustris*) — The rice field mouse is found in great numbers in the refuse pits, attracted there evidently by the grain and nuts stored for food.

Box Turtle (*Cestudo virginea*) — The bones of the common box-turtle are very abundant in the village. From one pit alone fifty-nine carapaces were removed, which no doubt represented a turtle feast. The carapaces were frequently cut and made into drinking vessels and spoons.

Snapping-turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*) — This turtle is also found in all parts of the village, but not so plentiful as the box-turtle.

Wild Turkey (*Meleogris gallaparo*) — Fully eighty per cent. of all the bones of birds found in the village site belong to the wild turkey. The flesh of this bird was certainly highly prized for food. The large leg and wing bones were made into implements and ornaments and the skulls into rattles.

Great Horned Owl (*Bubo virginianus*) — The bones of this bird are sparingly met with, as they were highly prized for making ornaments, and the majority of the large bones were cut into beads.

Barred Owl (*Syrnium varium*) — The bones of the barred owl are occasionally met with. As with the great horned owl, the bones were made into ornaments.

Canada Goose (*Branta canadensis*) — The humerus of this bird was found quite frequently, but the other large bones were manufactured into implements and ornaments.

Trumpeter Swan (*Olor buccinator*) — Like the Canada Goose, only humeri of this large bird are found, and those sparingly.

Great Blue Heron (*Ardea herodias*) — Only a few bones of this bird were found.

Bald Eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) — Only a few bones of the Eagle have been found — one skull, several ends of large wing and leg bones that were left from the manufacture of some ornament, and a few claws.

Mallard Duck (*Anas boschas*) *Pintail* (*Dafila acuta*) and *Canvas-back* (*Aythya vallisneria*) are found frequently in the refuse pits. Several skulls of each were found.

The presence of great numbers of mussel shells, both in the pits and surrounding the tepee sites, would indicate that this shell fish was much used for food. At the Gartner Village the remains of large mussel bakes were found,* but the large pits used in the preparation of the mussels for feasts were not found at the Baum site. However, large holes, from which earth had been taken, perhaps for use in the construction of the mound, were filled with the shells, and surrounding pits also contained great numbers of the shells, indicating that a great feast had taken place, and that the mussels were prepared in a way similar to those at the Gartner mound.

* Accounts of the mussel bakes are given in the Pub. of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Vol. XIII.

PLANT FOOD.

In order to secure data of certain cultures in each country, historical records are quite important and help to determine the origin of certain agricultural products. These records show that agriculture came originally from three great regions which had no communications with each other, namely, China, South West Asia and Egypt, and inter-tropical America, and from these three regions began great civilizations based upon agriculture. However, we find that history is at fault in giving us much early data concerning the third great center of civilization which does not even date from the first centuries of the Christian era, but we know from the widespread cultivation of corn, beans, sweet potatoes and tobacco, north and south of the center of the American civilization, that a very much greater antiquity, perhaps several thousand years, must be given for the perfection of these plants up to the time when history begins.

The finding of charred corn, beans, nuts and seeds of fruits, and even the remains of dried fruit, in the subterranean storehouses in various parts of the Baum Village, leads one to believe that the early inhabitants were agriculturists enjoying a certain degree of civilization. The most important product raised was corn—*Zea mays*.* At the time of the discovery of America in 1492, corn was one of the staples of its agriculture, and was found distributed from the La Plata Valley to almost every portion of Central and Southern United States. The natives living in this vast region had names for corn in their respective languages. A number of eminent botanists have made careful explorations to find corn in the conditions of a wild plant, but without success.

The corn unearthed in the village was always in the abandoned subterranean storehouses and invariably at the bottom of the pit. When any quantity was found the charred lining of the storehouse was present, which lining frequently consisted of long grass and sometimes bark. The corn, when found in

* The identification of the corn, beans, nuts and seeds from the Baum Village was made by Professor J. H. Schaffer of the Dept. of Botany, Ohio State University.

the ear, was laid in regular order, devoid of the husk, and consisted of two varieties, an eight rowed and a ten-rowed variety. The eight-rowed variety had a cob about half an inch in diameter and short, while the cob of the ten-rowed variety was larger and longer. The grains and cobs having been charred, were in a good state of preservation.

In other pits the corn had been shelled and placed in a woven bag and the charred, massed grains were removed in large lumps with portions of the woven bag attached. Therefore it seems reasonable to believe from the presence of so many storehouses for the care and preservation of their most nutritious agricultural product, that corn was the one staple upon which prehistoric man depended to tide him through the cold winters, and until the harvest came again.

Kidney Bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*)—According to J. S. Newberry, who published the first flora of the State (1859), the wild bean occurs generally throughout the State. This bean is found in abundance in the pits, sometimes mixed with shelled corn and placed in a container, and sometimes placed in the storehouse along with nuts and dried fruit of the wild plum, and was no doubt one of the agricultural products of aboriginal man of the Baum Village Site. According to the latest discoveries, in the Peruvian tombs of Ancon and other South American tombs, the origin of the bean was perhaps in the intertropical American civilization, and no doubt spread northward to the Mississippi Valley similar to maize. Beans were found also in the storehouses at the Gartner Village,* and in some of the burials of the Harness Mound explored in 1905. Three species of hickory nuts were found in abundance in the storehouse. *Hicoria ovata* (shell bark) was taken from almost every pit where the shells were found. Some of the perfect, charred nuts were found in the bottom of pits associated with corn and beans, but the ashes thrown into the pits from their fire-places usually contained many charred shells of this nut.

Hicoria minima (Bitter-nut) and *Hicoria laciniosa* were also found in the ashes, but not so plentiful as the shell-bark.

* Explorations of the Gartner Mound and Village Site, Vol. XIII.

Butternuts (*Juglans cinera*) and *Walnuts* (*Juglans nigra*) were both found in the perfect charred state in the storehouses and the ashes from the fire-places contained many shells.

Papaw seed (*Asimina triloba*) and *Hazelnut* (*Corylus americana*) were also found in the bottom of the storehouse.

Chestnut (*Castanea dentata*) found in small quantities in various parts of the village.

Wild Red Plum (*Prunus americanus*) — The seeds were found in the ashes and the charred remains of the fruit with seed were taken from one of the storehouses.

Wild Grape (*Vitis* (op)) was found sparingly in a few of the pits.

PREPARATION OF FOOD.

Food, for the most part, both animal and vegetable, was prepared by cooking, as evidenced by the large fire-places, the innumerable pieces of broken pottery, and the mortars and stone pestles used in crushing the corn, dried meats, fruits and berries. The fireplace was always present within the tepee, and several of them could always be found outside of the tepee and in close proximity to it. The fireplaces often show repair. When the hollow in the ground became too deep by long use it was filled up to the proper depth by mud plaster. The necessary precautions were not taken to remove all the ashes from the fireplace before the plaster was applied, consequently when the fire was again placed in the fireplace it soon cracked loose, and portions of burned clay were removed with the ashes from time to time as the fireplaces were cleaned, and the ashes with the broken lining were thrown into the pits. The large stone mortars, as shown in Fig. 10, were found in every section of the Village, and were made from slabs of fine-grained sandstone, averaging in size from ten to fifteen inches in length, from seven to twelve inches wide, and from four to seven inches in thickness, with a depression on one side, in many cases only about one inch deep, while in others the depression would be several inches. The stone pestles used in crushing corn and preparing food to be cooked, were not selected with any great care nor was very much labor expended in their manufacture, as many of them were merely natural pebbles, suitable as to size

and weight, slightly changed by a little pecking or rubbing, while others were natural flat and rounded pebbles, having a small depression cut on each side. None of the bell-shaped pestles found at the Gartner Village were found at the Baum Village, although the preparation of food products was the same.

The use of pottery in the preparation of food was universal.

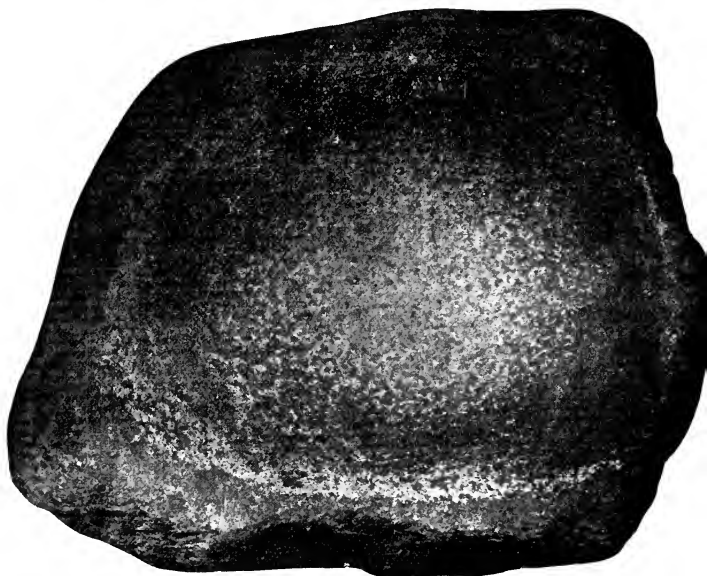


FIG. 10 — Stone Mortar, fifteen inches long, twelve inches wide and five inches thick, with a cavity three inches in depth.

Everywhere in the village fragments of broken vessels, as shown in Figs. 11, 12 and 13, were found. Around the fireplaces both in and out of the tepee, pottery fragments were always present, showing that the pottery was broken while being used as a cooking utensil. The large pieces were gathered up and thrown into the open refuse pits near at hand, and here we find them quite often with particles of the charred food clinging to the sides of the broken vessels. The potter's art seems to have been

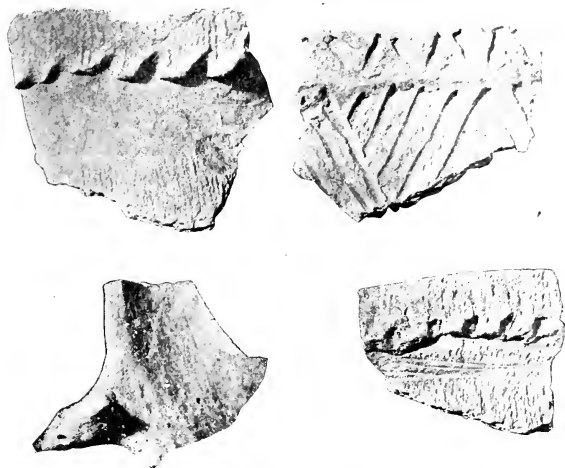


FIG. 11 — Pottery fragments showing decoration of rims.



FIG. 12 — Pottery fragment showing scroll decorations..

known and practiced by each family group. They became expert in successfully tempering clay to strengthen it, and in then carrying it through all the stages of modeling, ornamenting,

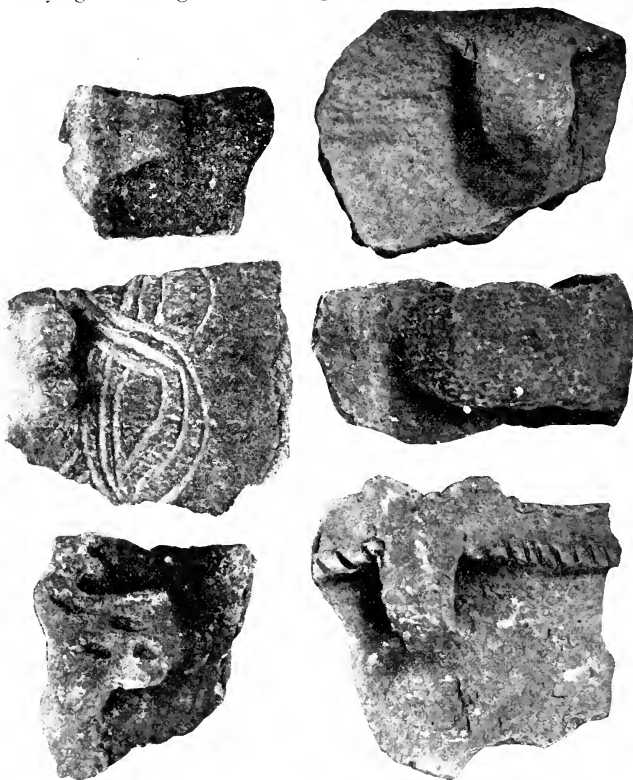


FIG. 13—Pottery fragments showing decorations and handles.

drying, and at last burning. Referring to Fig. 14, found with one of the burials, and which represents the highest type of fictile art found at the Baum Village, one can see the result of the pro-

gressive operations of a very delicate and difficult nature which required skill, foresight, patience, and wide experience in the



FIG. 14 — Restored Vase found with one of the burials (six and one-half inches high).

Ceramic art to produce such symmetry and grace as is displayed in this vessel. The decorations were those made by textile markings, and occur over the entire surface of the vessel. The impressions were no doubt made with a paddle around which cords had been wrapped. The handles are decorated by indentations.

Fig. 15 represents a vessel taken from another burial in the same family group. This vessel is also symmetrically made and the markings were made evidently with a pliable cloth, as they are uniform over the entire surface, including the handles. Fig. 16 shows a vessel placed near the head of the skeleton and which has been broken by freezing, as the burial was less than twenty-eight inches deep. Consequently all the pottery found in the burials of the Baum Village is more or less broken, but by carefully preserving the pieces, the vessel may usually be restored.



FIG. 15 — Restored Vase found with one of the burials (five and one-half inches high).

Fig. 17 is another restored vessel taken from the bottom of one of the storehouses in another section of the Village. The vessel had evidently been used as a container for grain and was accidentally broken in the pit and left there. Fortunately we secured all the pieces and were able to fully restore the beautiful vessel. It is the largest one that we have been able to restore, although many others that were very much larger lacked only a few pieces to fully restore them. The restored vessel

is nine inches high, with a diameter of nine and one-half inches at the largest part of the bowl.

Fig. 18 is of a very plain vessel taken from a grave in another part of the village. This vessel has also been restored, and is seven inches high and eight inches in diameter at the widest part of the bowl. The vessel is perfectly plain, which is characteristic of about all the pottery fragments taken from this particular family group.

Fig. 8 shows this same vessel before it was removed from the grave. The skeleton is



FIG. 16—Burial with Vase placed at the head of the grave.

headless, and the vessel is placed where the head should have been when the body was placed in the grave.

Fig. 19 is another vessel found with a burial. The vessel was fully restored with the exception of a piece of the rim, which had been broken out before being placed in the grave. The dec-

orations are textile markings, and the impressions are very pronounced over the entire surface.



FIG. 17 — Restored Vase taken from one of the refuse pits (nine inches high).

chase and for domestic and agricultural purposes were found in great numbers in the abandoned storehouses and the sites of the tepees. For the most part they were made from bone and horn, but implements made from flint and granitic bowlders were in evidence in all sections of the village. The implements used for agricultural purposes and for excavating for the storehouses were made for the most part of large mussel shells. Implements made of wood were no doubt

Fig. 20 shows very small vessels which were occasionally found in the perfect state; however, the broken pieces were found in every section of the village. The smallest of these vessels have the appearance of having been moulded over the end of the finger, while the largest is about the size of a small teacup. They were all rudely made and undecorated.

Implements: The implements used in the



FIG. 18 — Restored Vase placed with one of the burials. (seven inches high).

largely used, as charred remains of digging sticks and pieces of wood that had been polished were frequently met with.

Stone Implements—

The largest of the stone implements, with the exception of the stone mortars previously described, were the grooved axes, which were sparingly found in the pits and tepee sites, two specimens having been found during the entire explorations, one in a tepee site and one in a refuse pit. The stone axe found in the tepee site is shown in Fig. 21. It



FIG. 19—Partially restored vessel taken from a grave (six and one-fourth inches high).

is made of fine-grained blue granite rock, seven and one-fourth inches long, three and one-fourth inches wide. The surface shows the pecking, which had not been entirely obliterated by

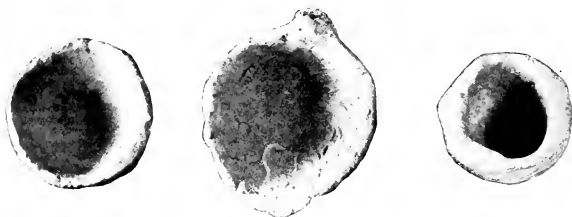


FIG. 20—Very small, perfect vessels, made of the same material as the larger vessels (half size.)

the grinding and polishing necessary for its completion. An interesting feature of this axe is the angle at which the groove

is cut to the blade. This type of axe is quite rare in Ohio, and not over four specimens are on exhibition in the museum of the Society. The other axe found in one of the pits is an entirely different type, the groove extending entirely around the axe. It is made from the same compact stone as the axe described above, and is finished much in the same manner.

Celts — This most useful implement was frequently met with in all sections of the village, and ranges in size from two to six inches in



FIG. 22 — A typical celt of the village (three-quarter size).



FIG. 21 — Rare type of grooved axe (length seven and one-fourth inches, width three and one-fourth inches).

length. All are finely polished. Fig. 22 shows a typical celt found in the village. The celts were made for the most part from compact granite boulders; others of banded slate and flint. Specimens illustrating the various stages in the

manufacture of the celt were secured during the explorations. Celts were frequently placed with the burials. One was the usual number placed in the grave, though in several instances two were found, and in the grave of a large adult male, three celts were placed in different parts of the grave—one at the feet, left hand and head, respectively. The pits revealed many broken celts, showing that the implement was in general use.

Hammer Stones—The hammerstones, if abundance is to be taken into account, were perhaps, the most useful stone implements found at the Baum Village. In the site of a single tepee twenty-five to thirty would be unearthed, and very often as many would be taken from a single pit. They were made of small, water-worn boulders, with a diameter of two to four inches, and the only evidence upon some of the specimens showing that they were used as hammerstones was the battered ends or sides; while others were artistically smoothed and polished on various sides, and perhaps covered with a skin and used as a club-head. However, it was not necessary for aboriginal man to expend unnecessary work upon an implement when a natural boulder from the river near at hand would answer the purpose. Therefore it seems natural to believe that all the boulders of proper size found in the village were more or less utilized in preparing meal, cracking nuts, breaking bones of animals used for food, etc.

Grinding or Polishing Stones—Very good examples of this most useful implement are shown in Fig. 23. They are usually made of a fine-grained sandstone,* but numerous pieces of coarse grained sandstone taken from the top of the hills, southwest of the village were also found. The grinding stones were indispensable in the manufacture of the great variety of bone implements found in the village, and varied in size from a slab of sandstone one foot in length by a few inches in thickness, to a small piece of sandstone only a few inches long and one inch in thickness.

Chipped implements of flint were found in every section of the village, both the finished and unfinished specimens, and were

* Waverly group.

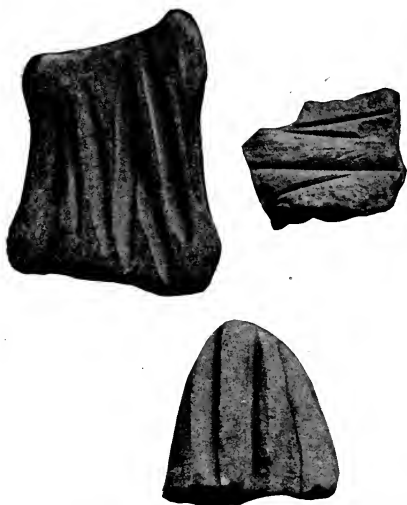


FIG. 23 — Whetstones used in making bone implements (one-third size).

made, for the most part, from flint procured from the Flint Ridge section, and showing about all the grades secured at this famous prehistoric quarry. The colors also varied from the white or gray horn stone through the various shades of chalcedony to the variegated and banded jasper forms. The greater part of the flint was brought to the village in large pieces, and there worked into implements, as several large pieces of flint

were found and the chips were everywhere present. The most abundant of all the objects made from flint were the small, triangular arrowheads, as shown in Fig. 24, which represents all the small triangular forms found in the village. Points with smooth edges were more abundant than those with serrated edges, and points having their edges both serrated and smooth are not uncommon. The triangular form also predominates in the larger forms of spears, as shown in Fig. 25. The spear to the left is a type found in every section of the vil-

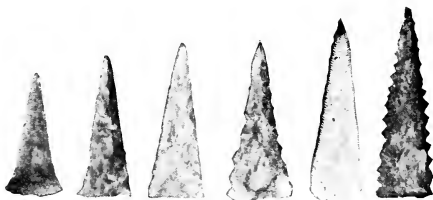


FIG. 24 — Typical triangular points (two-thirds size).



FIG. 25 — Large triangular spear (half size).



FIG. 26 — Deeply notched spear point, blade very thin. Length two and four-fifth inches.

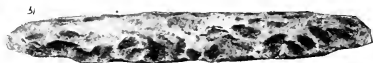
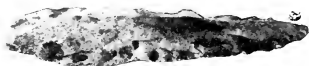


FIG. 27 — Typical drills found in the village (two-thirds size).

lage. The beautiful spear point shown in Flg. 26 shows that the inhabitants of Baum Village were able to make points other than the triangular forms. This spear point is made of dark flint, having a



FIG. 28 — Flint Knives made of red and yellow jasper (two-thirds size).

very thin blade, deep notches, and an indented base, two and four-fifth inches long, and one and nine-tenth inches wide.

Flint Drills, varying in length from two to four inches, were also abundant. Two kinds of drills were found: those having

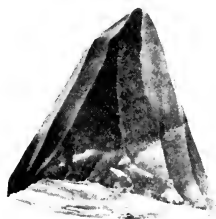


FIG. 29 — Flint Cores. Specimen to left, red and yellow jasper. Specimen to the right, maroon colored jasper (half size).

one point and usually small, and those having two points and much larger, but all have the same general appearance. Fig. 27 shows specimens which may be considered typical drills found in the village.

Flint Knives —

The flint knives flaked from the large jasper cores are also present. The knives are not large, and vary in length from one and one-half to three inches. Fig. 28 shows representative spec-

imens made from banded and variegated jasper, showing several facets on the convex face, while the concave face is perfectly plain and always regular and smooth — due to the fine grain of the chalcedony and jasper. Very few, if any, knives found in the village present any chipping, and all have the same general curve from end to end. The cores from which the knives are flaked are shown in Fig. 29, which represents the two types of cores found in the village, the conical core from which knives are flaked from all sides, and the flat core from which knives are flaked from one side only. The latter type prevails in the village. A large number of angular pieces of flint from one to one and a half inches in diameter were found in small caches near the site of the tepees, and quite frequently these angular pieces were found in the burials and were perhaps used to cut bone and horn, which were used in the manufacture of bone implements.

Discoidal Stones — Both perfect and broken specimens were frequently met with in the refuse found in the abandoned storehouses. All of them were of small size, the largest not exceeding four inches in diameter, and the smallest less than one inch in diameter. Three types were found, the bi-concave, perforated at the center with a circular hole, the bi-concave unperforated, and discs with perfectly flat sides. The bi-concave

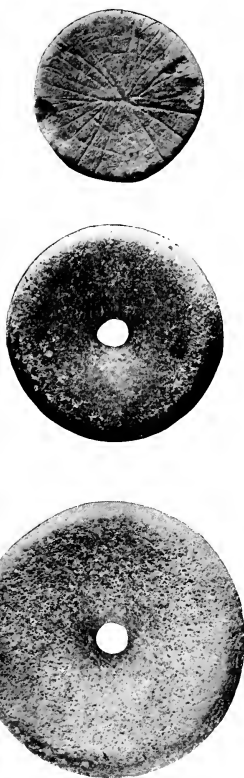


FIG. 30 — Typical discoidal stones found in the village (two-thirds size).

with perforation, is the most abundant, and is made for the most part of diorite, and highly polished. The perforations are usually circular, but the finest specimen found in the village and made of quartzite had an oblong perforation. The specimen is shown in No. 2 of Fig. 30. Other specimens of this type were moulded out of tempered clay, the same as used in making pottery, but apparently were too fragile to be of great use, as all were broken. The second type, bi-concave unperforated, were larger than those that were perforated, but in every other respect similar. The third type or flat disc, which is also shown in Fig. 30, is of two kinds, plain and decorated. The plain are usually made of finegrained sandstone or pieces of pottery cut into form,

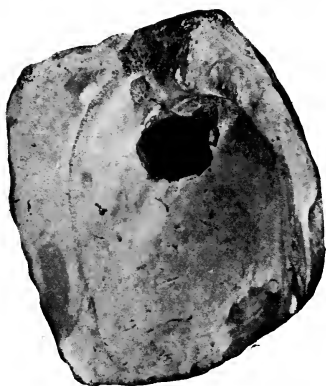


FIG. 31 — Typical shell hoe, found in great numbers in the refuse pits (half size).

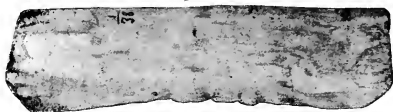
while the decorated specimens are invariably made of finegrained sandstone. The decorations consist of lines cut into the stones and radiating from the center of the disc; some of the lines extend to the edge while others only part way. Several lines usually encircle the flat face. The decoration usually occurs on both sides. This type is also shown in No. 3 of Fig. 30.

Hoes—The hoes found in the village were made, for the most part, of shells of the fresh water unios, but

hoes made from the Waverly black slate were frequently met with. The hoes made from slate were roughly cut from slabs of about the desired size, but hoes made from mussel shells were very abundant. A typical specimen is shown in Fig. 31. The shells selected were usually those of *Unio plicatus*, which are of good size, and the shell meets the requirements of being thick and heavy. The majority of the specimens are greatly worn, showing that they had served their purpose. The imple-

ment, when useless, was thrown into the refuse pits or left on the surface within the tepee, to be covered with soil the same as other implements, and the bones of various animals.

Bone Implements — Bone implements, such as arrow points, scrapers, awls, needles, fish hooks, etc., were very abundant everywhere in the village, especially in the abandoned storehouses and in the sites of their habitats. Here were also found specimens showing all the stages in the manufacture of any one implement; bone objects, such as bones that gave promise of meeting the requirements for a certain implement, but after work had continued to a certain stage were found defective. Small caches of deer tines, probably collected during a hunting expedition, were found hidden for future use in some part of the tepee site. Bones of about all the animals used for food were



used in the making of implements of all kinds, and very rarely would any of the large bones of such animals as the deer, elk and bear be found in a perfect state, as all were used in the industrial arts of these early inhabitants.

For a long time it was thought that prehistoric man had only stone tips or points for his arrows, but when their tumuli and villages were examined points were found made of bone, and during the examination at the Baum Village the bone and stone points taken from the pits were about equally divided as to numbers. The bone points, for the most part, were made from the tines of deer horns. The horns were found in numbers, but the tines were always removed. Fig. 32 is a good example of the horns as they came from the pits. The perfect and well-wrought arrow points made from horn are shown in Fig. 33. The methods of manufacture of the arrow point at

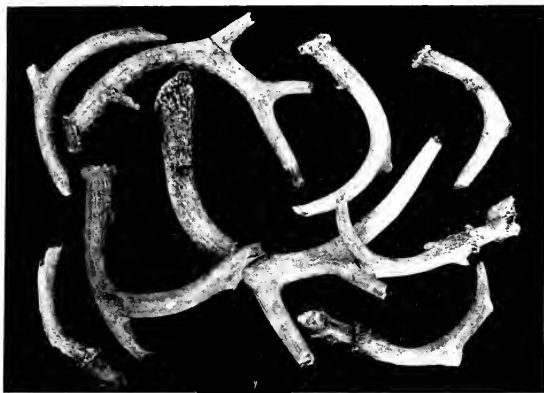


FIG. 32 — Deer horns with tines removed.

the Baum Village are identical with those at the Gartner Village Site, and I quote from my report upon this village site: "The size of the point varies greatly, from one-half to three inches in length, and is made by taking the broken tine and cutting

a crease about one-thirty-second of an inch in depth entirely around the horn at the desired length and then breaking off the point. This is shown in Fig. 34 (b). The first step after procuring the end of the tine was to drill a hole for the attachment of the wooden arrow shaft. No work in fashioning the point seems to have been done until after this drilling was completed. The hole for the attachment of

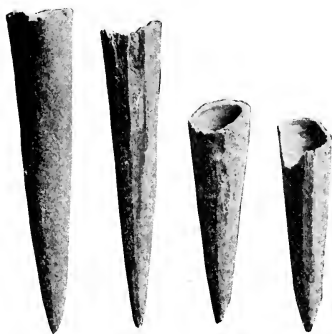


FIG. 33 — Arrow points made from the tines of deer horns (two-thirds size).

the shaft varied in depth from one-half to two-thirds the length of the point, see Fig. 34 (c), and always pyramidal in form,

with a base diameter averaging about one-third of an inch. The majority of the unfinished specimens show that the fashioning into form was done by cutting away the superfluous horn with a heavy piece of flint, as shown in Fig. 34 (d). Some writers have expressed the opinion that this cutting was done with a steel knife, but a careful examination by means of a good hand glass will reveal the concave appearance of the cuts and the small scratches caused by the uneven fracture of the flint. The final finish

upon the arrow point was done by rubbing the arrow point upon a piece of fine-grained sandstone, thus removing all traces of cutting, as is shown in

Fig. 34 (e), which shows a symmetrical and well-wrought point."

The majority of the bone arrowheads were attached to the shaft by having the shaft fitted to the hole drilled in the base of the point, but a number of points were found having secondary holes drilled into the side of the point, as shown in Fig. 35. All the points thus drilled were finely

made, perhaps to serve as harpoons, by being attached to the shaft with a cord. Another short and small point made from the bone of the deer was also found. A good illustration

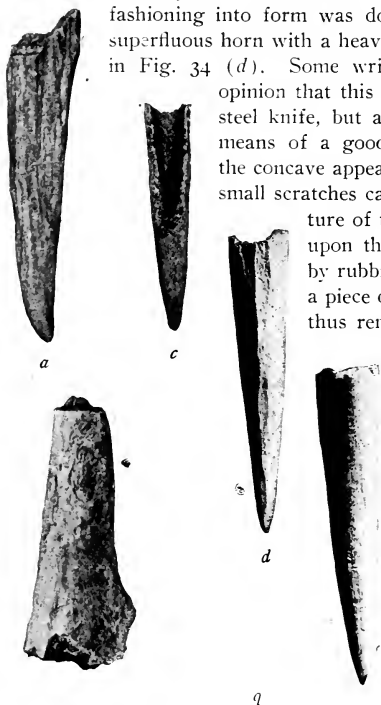


FIG. 34—Arrow point making, as illustrated by specimens taken from the Cartner Village: (a) Tine from deer horn, (b) Cutting of tine, (c) Depth of hole drilled, (d) Cutting away of superfluous horn, (e) perfect point (two-thirds size).

of this point and the stages in its manufacture is shown in Fig. 36. The first specimen to the right is a deer toe with a hole drilled in the base for the attachment of the shaft. The drilling of the hole for the attachment to the shaft was likewise the first step in making the arrowpoint from the tines of the deer horn, as illustrated in Fig. 34. The cutting away of the superfluous bone of the deer toe was accomplished in the same manner as shown in the cutting of the deer horn.

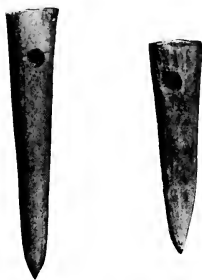


FIG. 35 — Arrow points made of deer horn with a perforation for attachment to the shaft (two-thirds size).

Bone Scrapers—Of all the bone implements found in the village, the bone scraper, made from the metapodal bones of the deer and elk, is the largest bone specimen found, and varies in length from eight to fourteen inches.

Fig 37 shows a representative collection of the perfect scrapers. During the explorations fifty perfect specimens were removed from the refuse pits, together with several hundred broken halves, showing that this implement was universally used in every section of the village examined. No record was made of finding a single perfect scraper in a tepee site, but frequently the broken pieces were found within the habitat; but for the most part the broken and the practically worn-out perfect scrapers were thrown into the refuse pits. The scrapers were invariably made

from the metapodal bones, and very frequently the specimens were found showing that the foot of the animal was attached to the implement when it was discarded. Specimens showing the stages in the manufacture of the implement were occasionally met with. Fig. 38 shows three specimens. The first specimen to the left is a perfect metapodal bone, only two being found during the entire exploration. This bone was seldom found except in a condition showing that it had served as



FIG. 36 — Arrow points made from the toe bone of the deer (half size).

were occasionally met with. Fig. 38 shows three specimens. The first specimen to the left is a perfect metapodal bone, only two being found during the entire exploration. This bone was seldom found except in a condition showing that it had served as

some implement. The specimen in the center of Fig. 38 shows a process in the manufacture of this implement. In this case the work had not advanced very far, but it shows plainly the small parallel grooves which were no doubt made by a blunt-

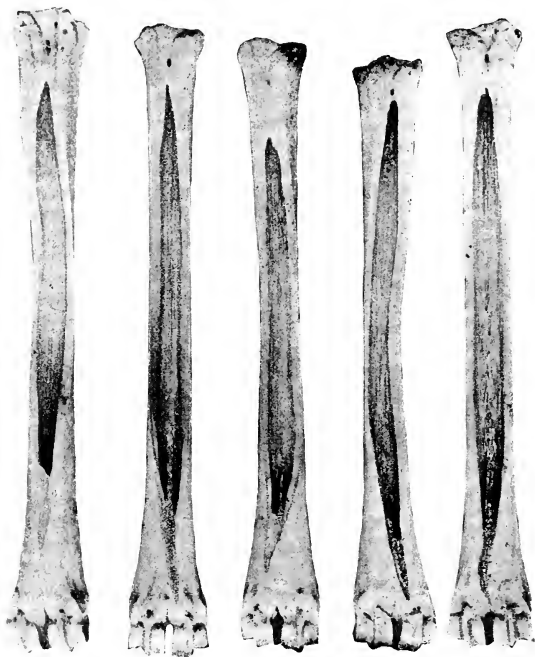


FIG. 37 — Perfect scrapers, made from the metapodal bones of the deer.
(Average length of scrapers, ten inches).

pointed flint implement. The specimen to the right in Fig. 38 is a perfect scraper, worn to a very thin edge from use. The surface of the bone at the ends shows a high polish. Scrapers were also made from the shoulder blades of the deer and elk,

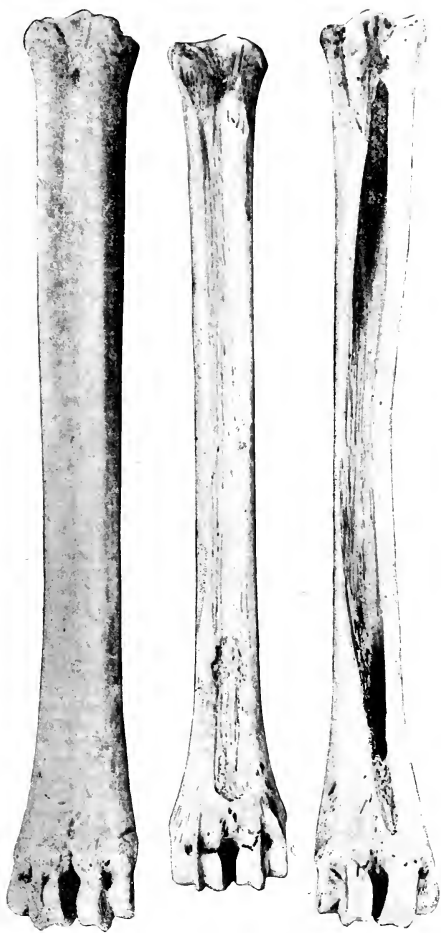


FIG. 38 — Specimens showing stages in the manufacture of the scraper. (Average length of scrapers, ten inches.)

especially of the elk. The spine was frequently removed and the supra scapular border would be sharpened into a cutting edge, and frequently specimens were met with in which the spine was sharpened to form a cutting edge and the posterior and anterior border and the post scapular and prescapular portions were removed. The shoulder blade of the elk was always converted into this most useful implement, for not a single specimen was found that did not show this use. The shoulder blades of the deer were not always converted into implements, but very frequently they were met with; occasionally from a single pit a half dozen or more would be taken, not a single one showing any marks upon it indicating it had been used for any purpose, while in other pits the same number might be taken and all show use as a scraper.

One of the most interesting of the implements found in the village is the celt-like scrapers made from the heavy portions between the beztine and the trestine of the elk antler. From the standpoint of utility, this implement used as a scraper would meet the needs to a better advantage than any of those just described; however, when the labor necessary to produce specimens as shown in Fig. 39 is taken into consideration, we do not wonder at the abundance of the simpler forms. The cutting of such a large and thick horn into the proper lengths, which was done by burning a ring around the horn at the point to be cut off, to a depth of perhaps one-fourth of an inch, and then breaking the piece off, required much patience as well as skill. After the proper length had been obtained, in order to secure the large, flat pieces of the horn the desired size, they were cut off with a piece of flint, chipped to the proper edge and used to plow a groove one-fourth of an inch in depth lengthwise of the horn. A second groove was made at the proper place and the slab of horn split off. The work of grinding and polishing would take place later, but all requiring an unusual amount of labor, perhaps more than any implement made of bone found in the village. Three types of these scrapers are found in the village: those having both ends made into a cutting edge, those having one end made into a cutting edge with one end sharpened, and those having notches cut on the side for attachment to a handle.

All three types were about equally represented, although only a small number were found (fifteen specimens). The average length of the horn scrapers would not exceed four inches, though one was found eight and one-half inches long. The lower specimen in Fig. 39 is a scraper having two ends sharpened to a cutting edge; it is four and three-quarter inches long and two inches wide, while the upper specimen is of the notched type.

Bone Awls — Bone awls may be considered the most abundant of the many bone implements found in the Baum Village,

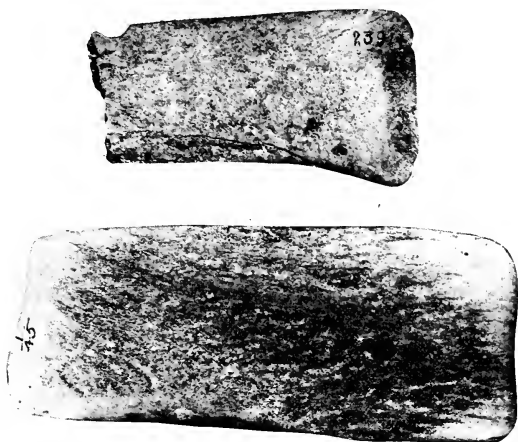


FIG. 39 — Celt-like scrapers made of elk horn (two-thirds size).

and the bones of about all the animals and birds used for food were used in the manufacture of the various types of awls. Many of them were manufactured from the heavy leg bones of the elk. Very good examples are shown in Fig. 40. These awls show a great amount of patience and labor in working down this thick bone, as shown by the enlarged portions, while others made from the same kind of bone are worked down to three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter and eight inches in length, with a well-wrought head sometimes carved representing the

head of some animal. Awls showing much labor and skill in their manufacture were found in every section of the village associated with others that required but little labor to furnish a very serviceable implement.

The awls found at Baum Village may be considered under three classes: First, awls with blunt points, such as shown in Fig. 41 and Fig. 42. These awls for the most part came from the burials and were found associated with bones of animals placed in the grave as a food offering, and several were found in the pottery placed with the dead. Awls shown in Fig. 43 and Fig. 44 would always be found with mussel shells and animal bones where any quantity was placed together. Summing up all the points observed concerning the blunt-pointed awls, one must believe that they served as forks in the preparation of food, and in conveying food to the mouth, such as meat, mussels, and vegetables. Many of the large and heavy awls may have been used in the manufacture of cloth and pottery. The second class of awls may be considered as bone perforators, all having sharp and long points. The best examples of this class are shown in Fig. 45, and are made from the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey. This class are very abundant. Out of two hundred and thirty-four pits examined there were very few that did not produce a perfect or broken awl of this class. Many awls of this class were made from the fibula and other bones of the raccoon. Fig. 46 shows an awl made from the lower jaw of the deer. With

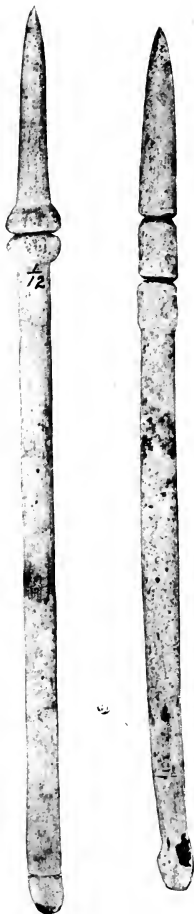


FIG. 40 — Large bone awls, length eight and one-half and eight and two-fifths inches, respectively.

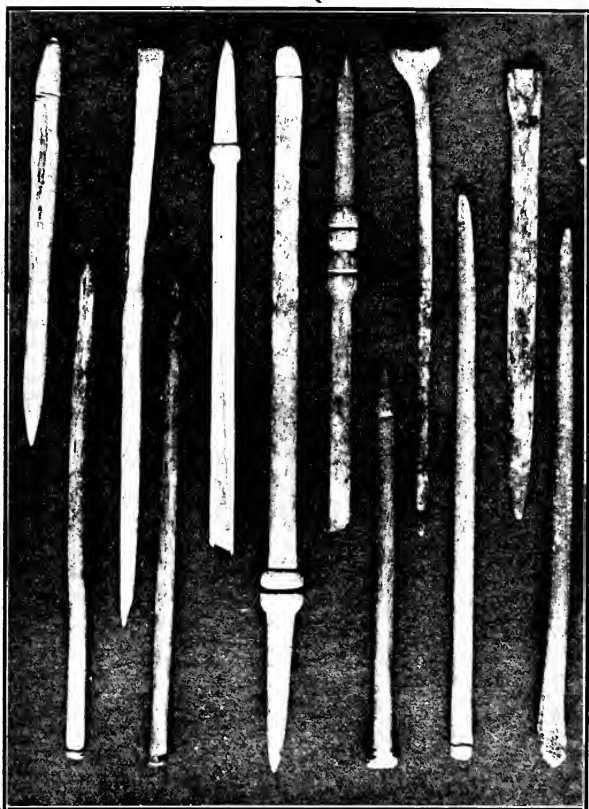


FIG. 41— Typical bone awls with blunt points (five-eighths size).

many of the burials in the village this class of awls are found. Fig. 47 shows five large awls of this class, four around the head and one between the legs near the feet. Beneath the mussel shells at the back of the head a large, well-wrought awl of the first class was found. The third class of awls are the double-pointed, sometimes called pins. They range in size from one inch in length for the very small awls to six inches in length for the largest. Fig. 48 gives a good illustration of the double-pointed awls. This class is the most abundant in the village, especially in the refuse pits. They are also frequently met with in the graves, and are always near the head. But little work is required in the manufacture of the small pins, as they are quite frequently made of splinters of bone having the desired size and shape, and require but little rubbing to remove the sharp edges and fit them for a serviceable implement. However, the large specimens have equally as much work upon them as the awls of the first class.

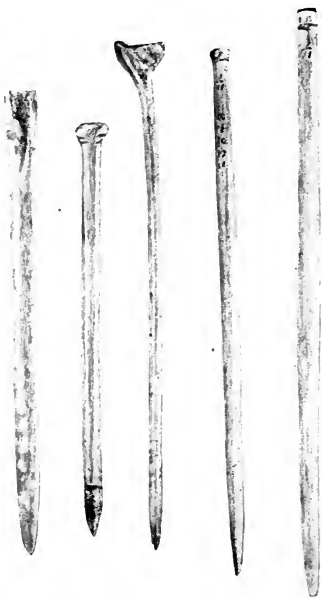


FIG. 42—Blunt-pointed awls found with burials (two-thirds size).

Needles—Perfect needles are not found in abundance in the village; although the broken pieces are frequently met with. The needle is made for the most part from the rib of the elk, which is cut off at the desired length, and then the rib is split and both pieces are manufactured into needles. The pieces are worked down to a little less than one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness and the average length being

about six inches. They frequently curve throughout their entire length, while others curve more near the point. The needle from this village is uniform throughout with the exception of a slightly enlarged head, which is pierced with a circular eye, the point being not sharp or pointed, but an oval. Fig. 49 is an illustration of the needle, but does not do justice to this well-wrought and highly-polished implement.

Bone Knives—



FIG. 44— Bone awls made of the shoulder blades of the deer (half size).

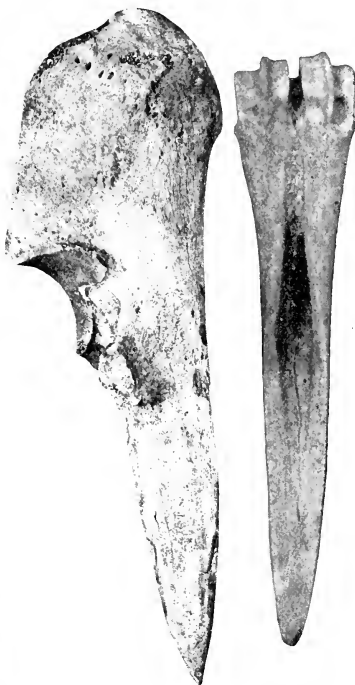


FIG. 43— Bone awls made from the ulna and metapodal bone of the deer (five-eighths size).

Another useful implement found at the Baum Site is the knife made from points of the shoulder blade of both the deer and elk, and not infrequently the bones of other animals whose bones would in any way be suitable for such an implement. The bone knife could not take the place of the flaked flint knife with its sharp cutting edge.

Bone Tubes — A number of bone tubes, made from various bones of animals and birds were frequently met with. Fig. 50 shows two examples of tubes. The specimen to the left is made from the femur of the mountain lion. The distal extremity has been cut away and the inside of the bone removed. The outside part of the shaft has been cut and polished. The head of the femur has also been cut away and the large trocantor slightly polished. The specimen to the right in Fig. 50 is made from the humerus of the Trumpeter Swan. The two extremities of the shaft are cut away and the shaft shows cutting and polishing in various places over its surface. Tubes are also made from the femurs of the deer and the tibiotarsus of the wild turkey.

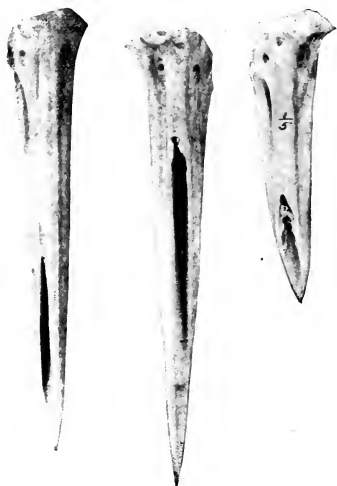


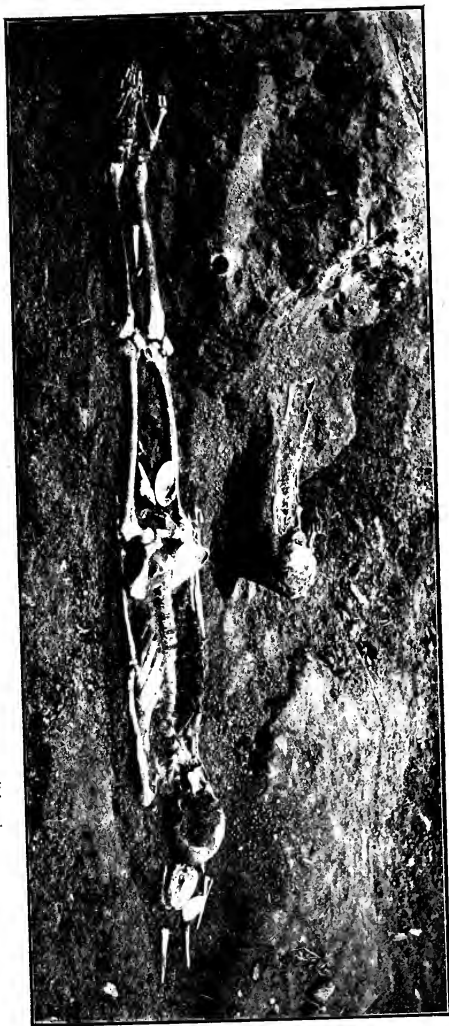
FIG. 45 — Bone awls with sharp points, made from the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey (half size).

Implements Made of Beaver Teeth — The bones of the beaver were seldom used to make implements or ornaments, but the incisor teeth, both upper and lower, were used in making implements. The three lower specimens shown in Fig. 51 have



FIG. 46 — Awl made from a part of the lower mandible of the deer (full size).

FIG. 47.—Burial showing five large awls made from the tarsometatarsus of the wild turkey.



been shaped into desired implements which may have been serviceable as chisels in cutting bone and wood. The three upper specimens were no doubt used as ornaments when their usefulness as implements were destroyed, as a number of beaver teeth

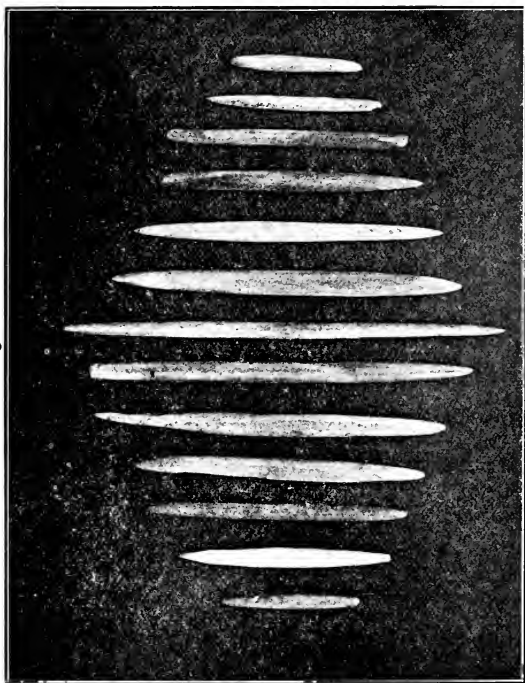


FIG. 48 — Double-pointed bone awls (half size).

like the above were found associated with beads and pendants in one of the burials.

Spear Points Made of Horn — Spear points made of horn, as shown in Fig. 52, were sparingly met with. They vary in

length from two and one-half to four inches, and the implement shows but a small amount of labor in its manufacture. All are roughly and unsystematically made from flat pieces of deer and elk horn.

Implements Used in Flaking Knives—The specimens shown in Fig. 53 were no doubt used in flaking the large flint knives so common in the village. The flaking tools were always made of deer and elk horn, and varied in length from one and one-half inches to four inches, and in diameter from one-half inch to three-fourths inch. One end is square, while the other end is oval, the longest point being in the middle of the specimen. The square end on almost all the specimens shows a splintered and battered condition, indicating that the implement had been struck with a heavy blow. The oval end also frequently shows a splintered condition, caused by improperly placing the tool against the flint, and striking the blow. The flaking tools are found everywhere in the vil-



FIG. 49.—Typical needle, length six and three-eighths inches.



FIG. 50.—Bone tubes, specimen to the left made from the femur of the Mountain Lion, one to the right humerus of the Trumpeter Swan (half size).

lage, especially in the sites of the tepees and in the graves.

Fish Hooks—This implement is one of the most interesting of the great variety of bone implements found in the village,



FIG. 51—Cutting tools made of beaver teeth (two-thirds size).



FIG. 52—Spear point made of horn (half size).

because of the great care and patience necessary in the manufacture and because the finished hook in many ways is the exact counterpart of our modern hook, devoid of the barb. See Fig. 54. Baum Village, in comparison with other villages in Ohio, is very rich in fishhooks, broken and perfect hooks being found in every section, some large, being over two and one-half inches in length, while some were quite small, not exceeding one inch in length. Beside the perfect hooks, every stage in the manufacture of

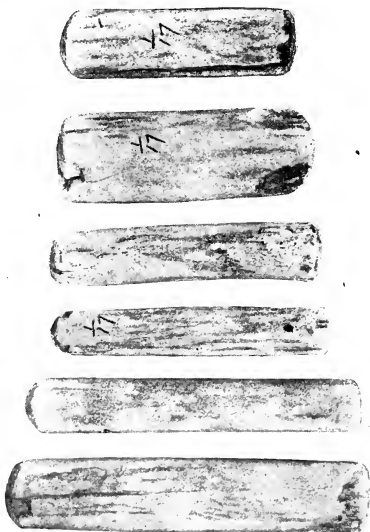


FIG. 53—Flaking tools made of elk horn (two-thirds size).

the hook was also found. This is valuable because of the comparisons that can be made with those found in other places in Ohio. Referring to Fig. 55, we find No. 1 representing three perfect specimens of fish-hooks made from the tibiotarsus of the Wild Turkey, and many of the unfinished specimens show that this bone was used. All three hooks have been carefully made and two are highly polished, and all have straight and rounded shanks. Two of the hooks have grooves cut in the upper part of the shank, and the third has the shank enlarged at the upper end. All of the hooks have sharp points, and owing to the curvature of the bone, which shows the marrow cavity, the



FIG. 54—Typical fish-hooks found in the village (full size).

points are not in the same plane as the shank. No. 1 was taken from a refuse heap and Nos. 2 and 3 from the refuse pits. No. 2 of Fig. 55 shows three specimens made of bone entirely different from that in No. 1. On one side of the hook the spongy character of the rib bone has not been entirely cut away, as shown plainly in No. 3, and the bone from which all three are made is presumably the rib of the deer. No. 1 has a very long shank in proportion to the size of the hook. The upper part of the shank has a crease cut entirely around for attachment. No. 2 is the smallest hook found in the village. No. 3 is quite a large hook and well wrought, but shows the cellular structure of the bone from which it was made. No. 3 of Fig. 55

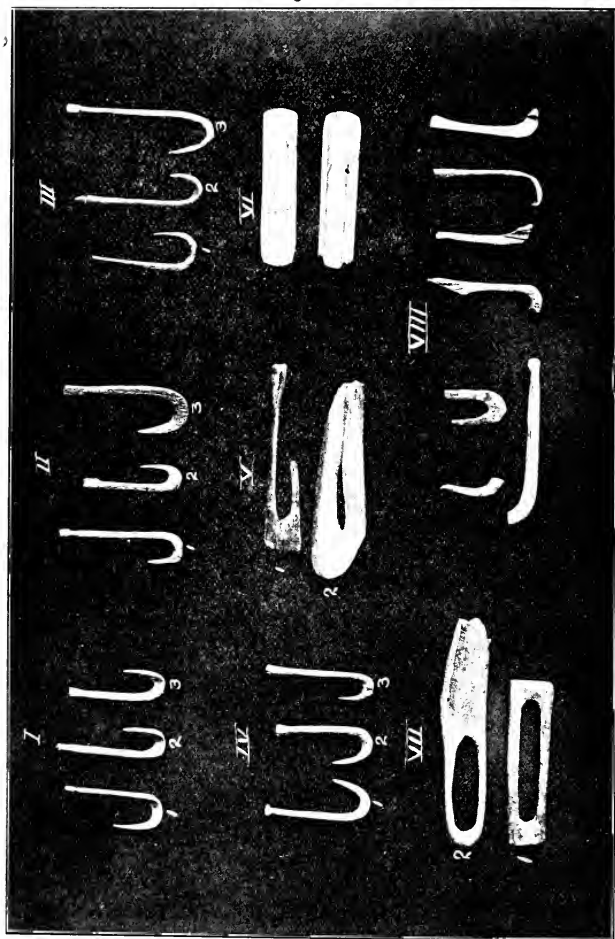


FIG. 55 — Fish-hooks and the stages in their manufacture (two-thirds size).

shows three hooks. Nos. 1 and 2 represent masterpieces in the art of fish-hook making. No. 1 has a perfectly fresh appearance, is of fine workmanship and well polished. The shank is flat with well-rounded edges and a perfectly cut groove for the attachment of the line. The curve of the hook is symmetrical and the point is very sharp. No. 2 is another well-wrought specimen and perhaps excels in general workmanship any of the hooks found in the village. It has a round shank and a well-cut groove in the upper end; the point of the hook is sharp and nicely polished. No. 3 is quite a large hook with a slim, round shank, enlarged at the upper end. The point of this hook is not in the same plane with the shank, owing to the curvature of the bone. No. 4 of Fig. 55 shows three finely-wrought hooks. No. 1 has a round shank with an enlarged end and the point, which is gracefully curved and finely polished, does not extend parallel to the shank, as in the majority of hooks found in the village. No. 2 is similar to No. 1 in general outline, differing only in being made stronger. No. 3 has a very slender shank with an enlarged top, and differs from 1 and 2 in having the point parallel with the shank. All three hooks were found in the refuse pits. Beside the masterpieces in the art of fish-hook making found in the village, specimens showing the various stages in the manufacture of the implement were found, and it seems that the ancient artificer had in mind a well defined plan and proceeded to work it out in bone to the best advantage. No. 5 of Fig. 55 shows two specimens illustrating certain stages in the making of the fish-hook. No. 1 shows a shank almost complete with an enlarged top, but the base and point show but little work. In No. 2 the base has been practically finished and the cutting away of the bone forming the shank and point begun. No. 6 of Fig. 55 shows two specimens representing the very early stages in the manufacture. The two bones are cut the desired length and made ready to remove the center. When this is done the bone will have the appearance of one in No. 7 of Fig. 55 and is ready to be cut into two parts and made into hooks. This could be done by cutting one side for the point which would be nearer one end, and then cutting the other side in a similar manner, thus producing two hooks instead of one.

No. 2 also shows that the maker had in view the same object as shown in No. 1, but had not so nearly completed the work.

Throughout the village various portions of fish-hooks were found, such as points, bases and shanks, and in No. 8 of Fig. 55 a number of these pieces are shown. Fully ninety-five per cent. of the hooks are broken at the curve between the point and the shank.

Fish-hooks found at the Gartner Village site* were similar in every respect to those found at the Baum Village, even to the details of their manufacture, while at Madisonville, Prof. Putnam found that the aboriginal fish-hook makers proceeded to make their hooks in a very different manner — by first boring a hole through the bone, and the hole was the beginning of the inside of the curve of the hook. The point and shank were worked out from this hole. Prof. Putnam has described the stages of fish-hook manufacture at Madisonville in an article on "The Way Fish-hooks Were Made in the Little Miami Valley," which appears in the Twentieth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum. In no instance have I found at the Baum Village Site any bone intended to be fashioned into a fish-hook that had been perforated by drilling. In the article referred to, Prof. Putnam also describes two perfect fish-hooks and one in the process of manufacture, which were taken from an ancient burial place along the Little Miami River by Dr. Metz, which differ from those found in the ash pits at Madisonville, but agree in every respect with those from the Baum Village Site.

Shell Spoons — Spoons made of the mussel shells are frequently found in the refuse pits, but the graves furnish three-fourths of all found in the village. Very often a large amount of work in shaping the shell to the proper proportions is required, while in others very little work is needed. Fig. 56 is a good illustration of the average spoon.

Spoons — Spoons made from the carapace of the common box turtle — *Terrapene Carolina* — are found in all sections of the village. Fig. 57 is a very good illustration of the turtle-shell

* Fishhooks described Vol. XIII, Gartner Md. & Village Site, Pub. of the O. S. A. & H. Society.

spoon, though many of them have but little work upon them, but where they were in constant use the carapace was cut and trimmed entirely around the edges. They were also found in the graves, but the majority of the turtle-shell spoons found in the refuse pits were broken.

Woven Fabrics — Evidences of woven fabrics were found in the refuse pits where the cloth had been charred. Associated with the cloth was corn, beans and nuts of various kinds, and perhaps the woven fabric at one time served as a container for the care of the agricultural products until needed for use. The bags may have been used for carrying and collecting stores of various kinds. No

fabrics were found in the graves, as all the dead were buried in the usual way of placing the body at full length in the grave, and no fire was used in connection with the burial ceremony. Consequently, if a woven fabric was used for clothing, and this clothing placed with the dead, not a single thread or imprint of the cloth remained.

Ornaments — In the beginning of our study of the primitive ornaments secured at the Baum Village site, both in the burials and those found scattered in the tepee sites and the refuse pits, I at once saw the similarity of the primitive forms to those of civilized forms. Our pen-



FIG. 56 — Shell spoon (two-thirds size).

dants, necklaces, bracelets and mounted pearls—all these forms were found in abundance in the village, and the difference lies not so much in the form as in the material and the workmanship. However, a primitive pearl necklace taken from one of the graves would differ but little from a modern pearl necklace, and that only in the matter of selection of the pearls. The drilling, the manner of mounting and the wearing were identical

with those of to-day. At the Gartner Mound* a gorget was found with a hole cut in the center and a pearl cut and mounted to properly fill it.

The ornaments for the most part were made of shell, bone and stone, and were abundant in the refuse pits and burials. Out of the one hundred and twenty-seven burials unearthed in the village, only nine were devoid of ornaments of some kind.

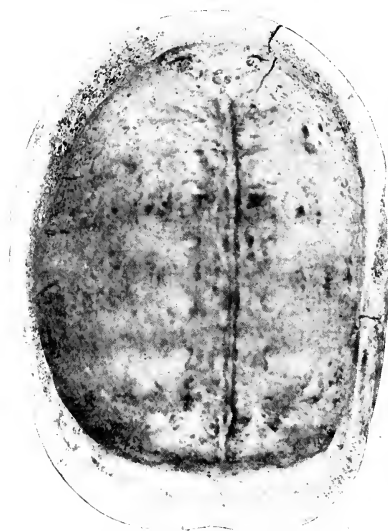


FIG. 57 — Spoon made of the carapace of the common land turtle (half size).

The ornaments made of shell were of two kinds: those made from the fresh water mussel, so abundant in the streams, and those made from ocean shells, perhaps secured by barter. The fresh water mussel, on account of the size, would only furnish the smaller gorgets and beads, such as are shown in Fig. 58, while the large shell gorgets, as shown in Fig. 59, were made from the body whorl of an ocean shell. The gorgets shown in Fig. 58 are of three kinds: those perforated with one hole, which is placed

at the center of the disk and range in diameter from one-half inch to one inch, the small size being more abundant; those perforated with two holes, which are placed near the edge of the gorget and about one-fourth inch apart; and those perforated with three holes, one at the center, which is usually the largest of the

* Exploration of the Gartner Mound and village site, pub. of the Ohio State Arch. & Hist. Society, vol. XIII.

three, and two near the edge about one-fourth inch apart. The central hole is usually quite large in proportion to the holes near the edge, and no doubt was set with pearls and other objects. The large shell gorget, as shown in Fig. 59, was found in the grave of a child about ten years of age, and is the only large gorget found during the entire explorations in the village.

Shell Pendants — Pendants made of shell, as shown in Fig. 60, were found in every section of the village, especially in the burials. For the most part they were made of ocean shells, oc-

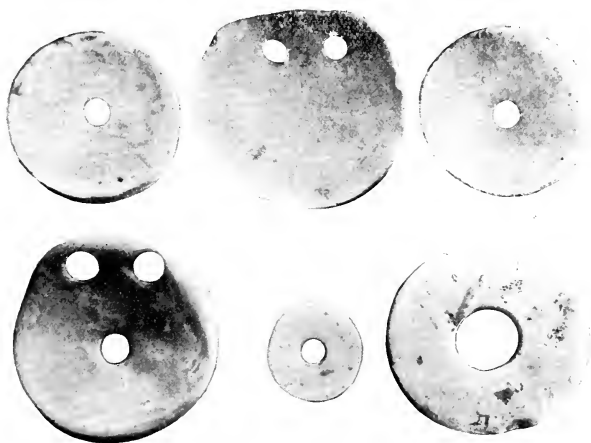


FIG. 58 — Typical shell gorgets (full size).

asionally one being found made of mussel shell. Those made of ocean shells were usually an irregular strip of shell, unevenly polished, and pierced at one end for attachment, and varied in length from two inches to three and one-half inches.

Shell Beads — Beads made of shell were for the most part made of ocean shells, and were of two kinds, those made from the large body whorls of *Fulgur perversum*, never exceeding one-fourth of an inch in diameter, highly polished and perforated with a hole at the center and representing a high degree of skill

in their manufacture. The other kind was made from a small ocean shell, *Oliva literata*, which was slightly altered by cutting away the apex and producing a passage for a string, which may be introduced through the natural aperture. Another small ocean shell, *Marginilla conoidalis*, was frequently met with, and they were cut and ground in the same way as the *Oliva*.

Pearl Beads — Beads made from the fresh water pearls are frequently met with in the graves. The pearls are all small, usually irregular in shape, and have no doubt lost much in size by exfoliation, as the thin decayed lamellae drops off in concentric scales, showing beneath the iridescent nacre. The pearls

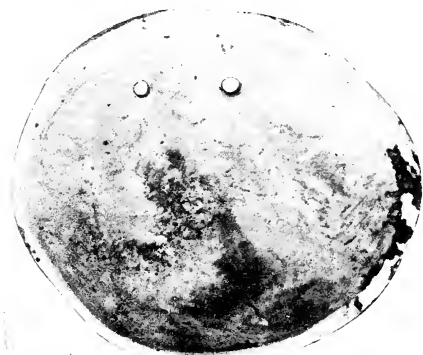


FIG. 59 — Shell gorget made of ocean shell (two-thirds size).



FIG. 60 — Pendants made of ocean shell (two-thirds size).

were no doubt secured from the fresh water mussels found so abundantly in the river.

Bone Beads — Beads made of bone were present in almost all the graves where ornaments were placed, and they were also abundant in the tepee sites and refuse pits. Fig. 61 shows a necklace of bone beads made from the femurs of small animals, and the wing bones of birds. This necklace was found in the grave of an adolescent. Bone beads were made in two ways, by cutting a crease entirely around the bone with a flint and then breaking, and afterward polishing to remove the rough edges. Fully 75 per cent. of the beads are made in this way. Another

way of making beads was by the use of fire, perhaps resorted to when flint was not at hand, and was accomplished by burning a ring around the bone at the point desired, and then breaking and afterward grinding off the rough edges. By this process a part of the charred bone remains and takes a high polish, which no doubt added to the ornamental value of the beads. The necklaces found at the Baum Village for the most part consisted of a strand of beads, small toward the ends and increasing in size toward the middle, where a central bead of unusual size or design is placed. Sometimes this central bead takes the

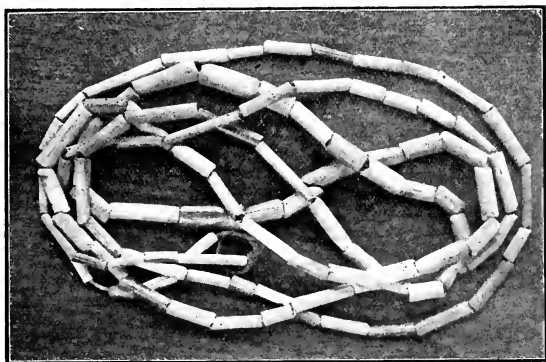


FIG. 61 — Beads made of bone.

form of a pendant, which may be made of bone as shown in Fig. 62, or a perforated canine of the black bear or a large piece of polished shell. Further indications were found in the graves that beads were also used to ornament their hair, and even hung as pendants from the hair. Other burials show that beads were used as bracelets and anklets.

Pendants Made of Teeth — Canine teeth of the bear, wolf and elk were invariably used for pendants in necklaces, and quite often formed the entire necklace. Fig. 63 is the canine tooth of the Indian dog, perforated at the base for attachment. Fig. 64 shows three canine teeth perforated at the base for at-

tachment. The two teeth to the left, an upper and lower canine, are those of the black bear; the one to the right is the canine of the gray wolf. None of the large teeth found in the Village had any work done upon them other than a hole drilled through the base. Fig. 65 shows the upper carnassial of the

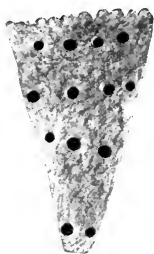


FIG. 62 — Pendants made of bone (half size).



FIG. 63 — Perforated canine tooth of the Indian dog (two-thirds size).



gray wolf which was invariably used for pendants. The three roots have a groove cut around them for attachment. No other teeth of this animal were used separately for ornament, but portions of the lower jaw with teeth attached were used.



FIG. 64 — Perforated canines of the bear and wolf (half size).



FIG. 65 — Upper carnassial of the wolf, grooved for attachment ($\frac{4}{5}$ size).

The incisor teeth of the elk, as shown in Fig. 66, were highly prized for ornament, and quite often formed the pendant of necklaces found with the burials. The majority of the teeth had a groove cut around the end of the root for attachment. However, quite a number were perforated with a hole for at-

tachment. The incisor teeth of the deer, although much like the elk, were not used for ornament. The canine teeth of the elk, as shown in Fig. 67, were always used for ornament. From one grave a necklace composed of nine teeth was found; in another two teeth were found, one on each side of the head of the skeleton, and were presumably used as ear ornaments, while in other instances a single tooth was found in a position to indicate its use as a pendant suspended from the neck unassociated with any other ornament. The teeth for the most part had a single hole for attachment, the drilling being done from both sides of the tooth through the base of the root. Occasionally a tooth would be met with having two holes for attachment.

Another interesting pendant and found in many burials, was that made from the digits of the wild turkey and other large

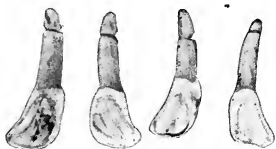


FIG. 66 — Pendants made of the incisor teeth of the elk ($\frac{2}{3}$ size).



FIG. 67 — Perforated canine teeth of the elk ($\frac{2}{3}$ size.)

birds. They were made by drilling a hole in the posterior end of the digit to the depth of about one-fourth of an inch, and then drilling a hole from the side until a connection was made with the first hole drilled. No other work was done upon them. Pendants made of claws of various animals and birds, such as the bear, wolf, mountain lion and eagle were found sparingly in all parts of the village examined. The majority of the claws were not perforated for attachment, but invariably those of the mountain lion were perforated with one hole.

Cut Jaws Used as Ornaments — The cutting into form of animal jaws to be worn as ornament was a very prominent feature in ornament making of the inhabitants of Baum Village. The upper and lower jaws of the Gray Wolf (*Canis occidentalis*) were always made into ornaments. Fig. 68 shows a very frequent way of cutting the jaw in the desired form.

The inferior dental canal is entirely cut away, and the ends of the roots of the teeth are also cut away. The incisors and premolars are gone, but the canine remains. Another form of cutting the jaw is shown in Fig. 69, where two molars and two premolars are left. Fig. 70 shows the manner in which the jaw



FIG. 68 — Cut jaw of the wolf (half size).



FIG. 69 — Cut lower jaw of the wolf (half size).

was cut. Bear jaws cut into ornaments were not found in the village, though in other sections of the county ornaments made of the jaws of this animal were frequently met with. At the Baum Village nothing but the gray wolf was found.

Deer jaws cut into implements or ornaments are not abundant in the village, although the perfect and broken jaws are



FIG. 70 — Cut wolf jaw, showing a stage in the manufacture of an ornament (half size).

present everywhere. Fig. 71 shows a very interesting cut jaw. The posterior part is entirely cut away, and the symphysis is greatly reduced by cutting and afterward polishing. The perfect set of teeth shows no artificial wear. So far I have not been able to suggest its use.

Wild turkey heads perforated with from one to three holes were abundant in the refuse pits, but none were found in the graves. However, at the Gartner Mound, in one of the graves, fourteen heads were found which had served as rattles. The heads were perforated with holes for attachment, and each con-



FIG. 71 — Cut lower mandible of the deer (two-thirds size).

tained small quartz pebbles. The heads found at Baum resembled in every way those found at the Gartner Mound.

Pipes — Both perfect and broken pipes were found in every section of the village, though not many were found in the graves. Out of one hundred and twenty-seven burials only two had pipes placed in the grave, one had a single pipe as shown in Fig. 72, and the other had two, both made very much alike, one of which is shown in Fig. 73. For the most part, pipes without stems were the prevailing type found.



FIG. 72 — Ovoid pipe found in one of the burials (2/3 size).



FIG. 73 — Pipe made of limestone found with one of the burials (two-thirds size).

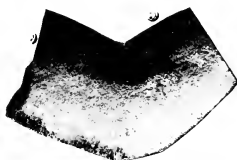


FIG. 74 — Pipe with short stem (half size).

A type of pipe with a short stem is shown in Fig. 74, as well as a tubular pipe made of clay, was also found. The tubular pipes were apparently made of the same kind of tempered clay used in making pottery. The average length was four and one-half inches, and the greatest diameter one inch.

The tube at the largest end would average almost three-fourths of an inch, gradually tapering to the small end, where it is about one-fourth inch or less in diameter.

The egg-shaped or oval forms were more abundant than any other form. They were made of limestone, quartzite, slate and sandstone. Pipes showing all the stages of manufacture were found from the roughly pecked form to the polished quartzite with the hole in the bowl half completed.

Method of Burial in the Village — The manner of burying

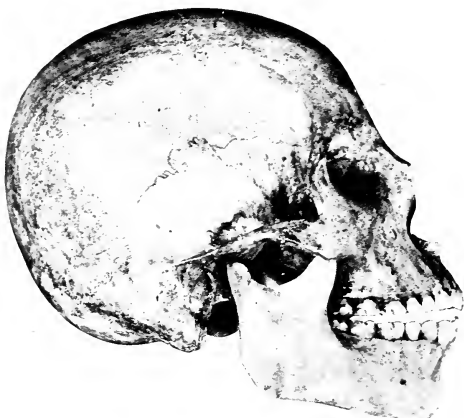
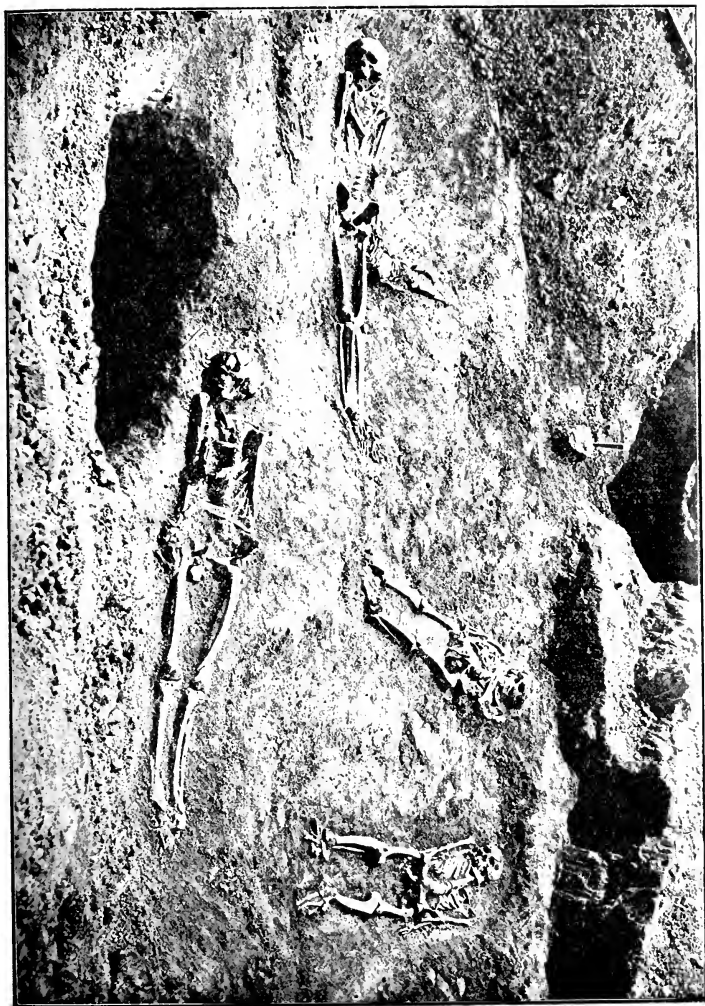


FIG. 75 — Skull taken from one of the burials in the village.

the dead, as shown in Fig. 6, may be considered as the typical method at the Baum Village. Each family group had their own private burial ground, and it was very close to the tepee. In several instances the graves were less than three feet from the tepee site and seldom would the graves be more than ten feet away. In close proximity to the mound the family groups were quite near each other, and the family burial ground so restricted that the dead would necessarily be buried close together, and the subterranean storehouses would be dug near the burial grounds. This condition is shown in Fig. 76, where three chil-

FIG. 76.—Family burial ground; four adults and three children exposed at one time, as well as one of the underground storehouses,



dren and four adults were exposed and photographed together with one of the largest storehouses found in the village. Three more children were found to the right of those shown in the photograph, making ten in this family group, four adults and six children. The tepee site was to the left of the burials and so close that the head of the adult to the left was very much less than three feet from the post molds which show the outline of the tepee. While no pottery was placed in the graves of this group, the fragments show perhaps the most elaborate decorations and the remains of the largest vessel found in the village. The subterranean storehouses were also unusually large and the contents were very rich in animal remains and imple-



FIG. 77 — Burials encircling a tepee site.

ments and ornaments of various kinds. In another group the burials were in a circle around two sides of the tepee. Three of these burials are shown in Fig. 77, while two more to the right constitute the family group. For the most part the bodies were placed in the grave with a perishable covering, though three graves were exhumed which were covered with slabs of slate. The covered graves pertained to three different families, and each was in close proximity to other graves. Fig. 78 shows a covered grave of an adolescent; on the left is an adult and between the two is the skeleton of a very small child. The adolescent's grave, as is shown by the photograph, was carefully covered with the slabs of slate, showing more than ordinary care for the dead. The three covered graves contained two adoles-



FIG. 78 — Covered and open graves in the same burial ground.

cents, and one child. Another form of burial occasionally met with in the family groups was where the interment was made in one of the abandoned storehouses. A photograph of this mode of burial is shown in Fig. 79. The head is bent backward and the legs are flexed so that the feet are very near the pelvis, and the whole body made to conform to the size of the pit. During the entire exploration only four skeletons were taken from the bottom of refuse pits, showing that perhaps the burials were

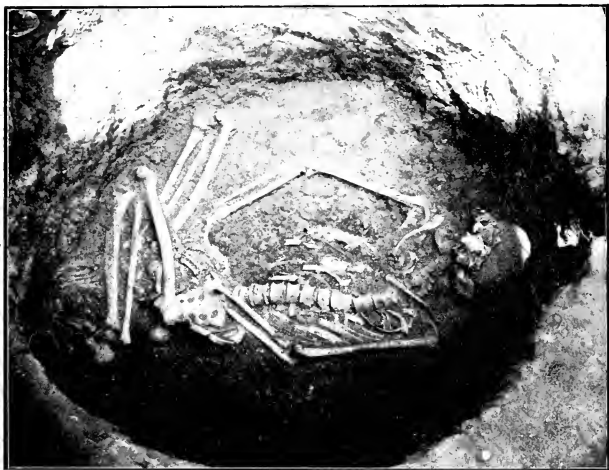


FIG. 79 — Burial in one of the refuse pits.

emergency burials, the death occurring during the winter when the ground was frozen, making it a very difficult task to excavate the frozen earth with the primitive digging implements. However, the pit burials may have only been temporary burials, and the re-interment would take place when conditions were favorable for making the proper excavations. In two of the burials in the pits the indications point to a permanent burial after the bodies had been placed in the pits, which were quite deep. The clay forming the sides of the pit was used to cover the body to

the depth of four inches, and afterwards the pit was filled with refuse the same as other pits in the village. The other two burials had been placed in the pits after they had been about one-fourth filled with refuse, and the bodies were covered with ashes to the depth of three inches, and the pits afterwards filled with refuse. These two may have been temporary burials and left by accident in the pits.

The inhabitants of Baum Village, according to the measurements, would average for adult males about five feet seven and one-half inches in height and adult females five feet four inches, only one man being found that would measure six feet. His skeleton as shown in Fig. 80. The bones of the skeleton are perfect, and are large in proportion to the height of the individual. He died before reaching the age of thirty years. Sev-

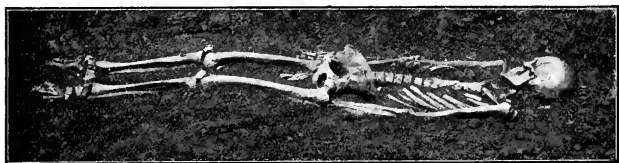


FIG. 80 — The largest skeleton found in the village.

eral skeletons of adult males found in the village have strong, heavy and perfect bones and prominent muscular attachment, indicating that they were strong and muscular, and lived to a ripe old age. A photograph of one of these skeletons, which measures five feet six and three-quarter inches in height, is shown in Fig. 81.

Out of forty-nine tepee sites explored, ten had no burials surrounding them, and only a few storehouses, showing that the tepee had not been occupied for any great period. All the burials in the entire village were practically the same, being placed in a grave with their implements and ornaments, unattended by any ceremony of fire.

As I have stated elsewhere in this paper, fifty-eight per cent. of the children never reached the adult age. I also made an estimate from my field notes of the fifty-three adults and find

that ninety-two per cent. died before reaching the age of fifty, and that fifty-six per cent. died before reaching the age of thirty. I also found that twenty-one skeletons of the one hundred and twenty-seven exhumed had diseased bones, and I requested Mr. S. T. Orton, then a student at the Ohio State University preparatory to his course in medicine and one of my assistants in the field, to take up the study of the diseased bones when the proper time came. Accordingly, after finishing his scientific course at the Ohio State University, he entered the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania and devoted much of his spare time for three years to the microscopical study of the diseased bones procured from the graves of the Baum Vil-



FIG. 81 — The skeleton in the foreground represents the strongest and oldest person inhumated in the village.

lage Site, and in April, 1905, published in the Medical Bulletin of the University of Pennsylvania the results of his investigation in a paper entitled "A Study of the Pathological Changes in Some Mound-Builders Bones from the Ohio Valley, With Especial Reference to Syphilis," and I quote at some length from this article.

"As will be seen below the lesions of the bones examined are such as to lead to the diagnosis of syphilis as their etiological factor. The reader of works on the history of syphilis will find interest in the discussions of many syphilographers and historians on the origin of this now almost universal disease. The French writers especially have taken up the argu-

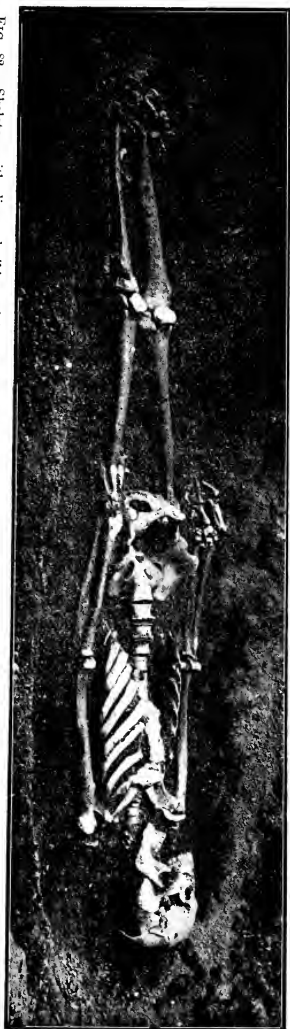


FIG. 82.—Skeleton with diseased tibia and humerus, which were used by Dr. Orton in his study of the pathological changes with especial reference to syphilis.

ment, and we find opinion divided between three possibilities: (1) That the disease was endemic both in this continent and the old world before communication was established across the Atlantic. (2) That the origin of the infection was in the American races, and that it was carried to Europe by the sailors of Columbus' expedition on their return; and (3) the reverse of the



FIG. 83 — The large skeleton in the center was used by Dr. Orton in his investigations.

latter theory — *i. e.*, that its place of endemicity was in Europe, and that it was brought westward to this side of the Atlantic by Columbus' men and so implanted here.

It will be readily seen that the results of the present investigation have no bearing on the two former hypotheses. If the diagnosis given is correct, in view of the undoubted pre-Colum-

bian time of these remains, it is entirely incompatible with the third explanation. It may well be added here, however, that the supporters of this theory are comparatively few.

A vast amount of literature has been published in discussion of this question, and strong arguments brought to bear on all sides.

The work of Buret in support of the universal pre-Columbian distribution brings up some very strong proofs. These volumes, while of only a semi-scientific nature, gives a resume of a great amount of evidence of various worth. Early in the first volume is an account of lesions found on human osseous remains exhumed at Soultrè in the Department of Sàone-et-Loire in western France. These bones, found buried with those of the horse and reindeer and cut flints, etc., belonging to the Gallo-Roman or Merovingian epochs, were referred by anthropologists of the best authority to the Stone age, and, the author adds, "examined by Broca, Ollier, Parrot, and Virchow, the lesions were, by common consent, pronounced syphilitic." Then follow reports of examinations of several Peruvian prehistoric skulls showing evidences of acquired and hereditary syphilis and, by way of contrast, lesions which from their description seem identical, on bony remains from the caverns and dolmens inhabited by "tribes who peopled the Gauls during the Stone Age and in the druidical times before the Frankish dynasties." In another chapter is given an abstract of translations from Chinese documents collected by the Emperor Hoang-ty, 2637 B. C., and forming the volume Hoang-ty-mi-King or the *Medical Treatise of Hoang-ty*. Quotations of this translation give very apt descriptions of the two main varieties of venereal ulcers with reference to the connection between the Hunterian sore and the secondary eruption, with an account of the varieties of the latter which is easily recognizable, and as treatment advise mercurial frictions, aided by an oily mixture and a powder composed of mercury.*

*It is of interest here to mention also the account of vaccination against variola practised by the Hindoo physicians 1000 years B. C., by taking the liquid of the pustule of the cow's teat or from the arm of a human being, placing it upon the point of a lancet and introducing it into the arm of the patient to be vaccinated, mixing the fluid with the blood, etc.

In support of the existence of syphilis in Biblical times, during the ascendancy of the Greeks and Romans and in the Middle Ages, is quoted a mass of documents, largely secular, which show beyond doubt that venereal diseases of some kind were rampant then, and would seem to indicate the probability of the existence of lues venerea, but hardly prove the point.

On the other side the discussion was headed by Astruc, the early French syphilographer. His articles, while able, were written before the discovery of many important pieces of evidence, and hence are not of such worth as the work of Bloch, which is among the most recent writing on the subject.

Bloch credits the appearance of the disease in Europe to the return of Columbus' first expedition and its rapid dissemination to the debauchery of the troops of Henry the VIII. of France on his expedition against Naples and their widespread dispersion, carrying the infection with them, at the end of the siege. He uses the malignency of the epidemic of Naples as an argument in support of his theory that European peoples were before that outbreak free from the disease and consequently lacked that immunity which would obtain through long exposure of the race to infection. To quote directly: "Wenn der Syphilis schon Jahrtausende bestanden hätte, dann hätte doch im Laufe dieser langen Zeit ein so grosse Immunisirung der Völker des Orbis antiquus gegen das syphilitische Gift eintreten müssen dass die Ereignisse am Ende das fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts einfach unmöglich gewesen wären.

He asks how else can the early appearance of the secondary lesions, the high fever, the pain, the high mortality, etc., in the Neapolitan outbreak be explained. It seems not untenable to believe that the infection had been present on both sides of the Atlantic for thousands of years and that in this way the virus may have become attenuated in each continent — so much so in Europe as to have been overlooked during the dark era of the Middle Ages, or to have been confounded with leprosy or other current diseases — and to have owed its virulence in the epidemic of 1495-6 to a transplantation of the infection of American origin on to what might be for it a favorable soil. Evidences of this variability in infective agencies is seen some-

times in cases where inhabitants of a notorious typhoid centre remain free from infection for indefinite periods only to succumb to the disease on removal to another endemic focus. Here also may be mentioned the severity of the venereal infections brought back by our own troops from the Philippines. One author has spoken of the organism of gonorrhœal infection from this source as the micrococcus gonorrhœae malignus.

With regard to the pathology of the specimens under examination a considerable handicap is apparent in that the cellular constituents of the bones are long since disintegrated, but the lesions of the resistant parts are sufficiently characteristic to permit of diagnosis. These changes in the hard parts in syphilitic diseases exclusive of the cellular study are reviewed here for comparison with the results to be shown presently.

All authors agree on the subject that the bones most frequently the seat of syphilitic changes are those which are most exposed to trauma, which seems to act as a focalizing factor for the morbid process. The order of preference given is: the tibia, clavicle, cranium, ulna, sternum, ribs, etc. This is notoriously the distribution of lesions found in the mound-builders. One particular skeleton is recalled in which the gross changes were apparent in both tibiæ, the vault of the cranium, one clavicle, and one ulna, and this was noted before the sites of election of the syphilitic processes were known to the observer, and, indeed, before syphilis was suspected as being a factor in the case. The following figures, furnished by Mr. Mills, will show something of the distribution: Of one hundred and twenty-seven skeletons exhumed at the Baum Village site, twenty-one were diseased. Fully sixty per cent. of those affected show the lesions worst upon the tibia, the ulna coming next perhaps, then the cranium and then the sternum. But few ribs were affected.

"The gross changes brought about by the syphilitic process in long bones consist of one or more large exostoses (rarely a hyperostosis) in the diaphysis. In the tibia, for instance, the exostosis is usually single when well advanced and is a large, ovoid hypertrophy, most frequently in the upper half of the shaft, although sometimes the whole of the diaphysis is involved. This new growth of bone, to be typical, shows both in the gross sec-

tion and microscopically the condition of rarefying osteitis side by side with one of condensing osteitis which may be far enough advanced to justify the term 'eburnation.' In any given specimen, however, the lesions may be chiefly confined to any one of these three types, dependent on the progress of the disease—but the other types are always present to a greater or less degree. There may be also on the surface of the bone small osteophytes either of intense hardness when they are, as a rule, more or less regular and polished, or when they occur in the line of origin or insertion of a muscle roughened, irregular projections.

"Sometimes the exostosis, which is nearly always on the anterior aspect of the bone (that part exposed to trauma), may involve the entire length of the diaphysis, giving a curve of large radius with convexity forward and distorting the whole of the bone except the epiphyses, which seem to be entirely normal. This gives rise to the condition called 'sabre-blade' deformity when occurring in the tibia, where it is most frequently seen. The lumen of the medullary canal may be enlarged through absorption of the bone surrounding it. This may be greater or less than, or equal to, the deposition of bone from the periosteal side, thus giving a large canal with thin walls or thick walls with an increased lumen, or an increased lumen with walls of about normal thickness. Sometimes deposition of bone takes place from the endosteum, encroaching on the medullary canal either through the formation of dense bone or through a mesh of very fine interlacing spicules of osseous material, almost or entirely filling up the original canal. The external surface of an exostosis of a long bone may be as smooth as, or even smoother than, the normal bone surface, in which case the condition of sclerosis will usually be found to be the predominant one, or it may be marked with irregular lines or depressions more or less parallel with the long diameter of the shaft, or deeply grooved with branching channels in which lay the enlarged periosteal vessels, or filled with small holes running into the body, which on section prove to be enlarged Haversian canals perpendicular to the shaft.

"Differential diagnosis is here made from tuberculosis, chronic osteomyelitis, and osteitis deformans. The pathological

changes of bone syphilis are so clear and well defined, however, as not to require elaborate differentiation. Osteitis deformans, while a rare disease, now, is included in view of the fact that so little is known of the diseases prevalent at the time from which our material has come. In the osseous lesions of tuberculosis and chronic osteomyelitis the formation of an involucrum with sequestra and cloacæ is usually a prominent feature. In the tuberculous bone affections the disease is very often manifested in the epiphyses and joints and leaves there unmistakable traces of its ravages. Lazarus-Barlow is quoted here: 'Tuberculous disease of bones differs in the fact that sclerosis is almost characterized by its absence. * * * It is never found that a focus of tuberculous disease shows a considerable formation of new bone in the neighborhood of the principal seat of the disease. The utmost that we see is the presence of a few osteophytic growths.' Again, the same author says of osteitis deformans: 'All bones are usually affected and the whole bone is involved.' This is a true hyperostosis of general distribution rather than exostosis on certain selected bones as is the case in syphilis.

"The microscopic picture of bone syphilis exclusive of the cellular changes is directly comparable to the gross lesions—*i. e.*, concurrent rarefying and condensing osteitis. Cornil and Ranvier, in describing the result of rarefaction by enlargement of the Haversian canals, says: ' * * * The canals communicate and by their junction form irregular spaces filled with marrow of an embryonal type.' Simes and White, in their translations of Cornil's *Syphilis*, describe the sclerotic changes as follows: 'When under the influence of appropriate treatment or following the natural course of the malady, the inflammation ceases and the disease retrogrades, there is seen a reparation of the diseased and partially destroyed bone. * * * There result new lamellæ with new osteoblasts, and these form several series parallel one with another, or follow the irregular arrangement of the Haversian canals. This exuberant formation of new osseous lamellæ may constitute beneath the periosteum exostoses of varying size and in the bone a parenchymatous exostosis or eburnation.' Again in Shakespeare and Simes' translation of Cornil and Ranvier's work appears the following: 'A transformation

which has taken place in consequence of the formation of osseous tissue which being deposited in the interior of the canals has narrowed them. The new osseous layers may be so arranged that the lumen of the canal does not correspond to the centre of the original canal. This process continuing, the canal may be completely obliterated, so that at the centre of the concentric layers, instead of a canal there is found one or more bone corpuscles.'

"A rough qualitative analysis of the material under examination showed large amounts of calcium and magnesium, some aluminum, a trace of iron, the carbonic, sulphuric, and hydrochloric acid radicals, and considerable organic matter. On complete incineration of a portion of bone in the oxidizing flame, reducing it to an amorphous white powder, a loss of seventeen per cent. by weight was noted. After heating until the mass charred and then lost its black color (becoming gray and not white as above, and leaving no residue on solution with dilute hydrochloric acid) the percentage of weight loss was on an average ten. Although the conclusions here are reached by a very rough method and are probably far from accurate, ten per cent. weight loss is taken to represent approximately the amount of organic matter and the additional seven per cent. accounted for by the breaking up of the carbonates and the evolution of carbon dioxide. The source of the organic matter here is a question — whether remains of the original animal matter of the bone, or vegetable replacement during their stay in the soil. The latter possibility seems more reasonable and is supported by the finding of small roots in the medullary cavity of some of the bones sending their finer branches into the cancellous structure and enlarged Haversian canals.

"RESUME — The material under examination is from a source undoubtedly pre-Columbian and the lesions are such as to justify the diagnosis of syphilis by the following pathological evidence: Changes affecting chiefly the diaphyses where long bones are concerned, showing a predilection for those bones which are most exposed to trauma, consisting of large exostoses and osteophytic overgrowths, and characterized by the concurrent presence in the same specimen of both a rarefying and con-

densing osteitis as demonstrated by gross and microscopic examination. Of one hundred and twenty-seven skeletons from one series of excavations, twenty-one showed traces of disease, sixty per cent. of the affected showed the changes most upon the tibia with the ulna, cranium, and sternum following in order. Of the specimens examined rarefying osteitis was grossly manifest in all but two, one of which (ankylosed metatarsal and cuneiform) was probably of traumatic or septic nature, and the other (a clavicle) was not examined in cross-section. Grossly sclerosis was evident in three of the ten, while on microscopic examination only one of six from which sections were taken failed to show condensation in some areas."

The explorations of the Baum Village site have brought to light many points of interest concerning the home life of a prehistoric people who had risen above the level of mere children of the forest, depending upon wild wood for their subsistence. They had established homes, a developed agriculture, made the collection of and provided storage for food supplies for future use. Therefore the Baum Village site culture in all essential points resembles the culture of the Gartner Village site along the Scioto, and the Ft. Ancient and other culture sites along the Miami; establishing the fact that at one time the valleys of southern and central Ohio were peopled by a culture which was quite uniform throughout the entire section, and for convenience I have termed these early inhabitants the Ft. Ancient Culture. The manufacture of their implements, such as scrapers, awls, needles and fish-hooks, as well as the many implements in stone, as shown by the various stages in the manufacture of these implements, were in every respect similar throughout the entire region. In the manufacture of their pottery, and especially in regard to their designs and shapes, they were quite similar, and it would be impossible to distinguish the Ft. Ancient pottery from the Baum, and the Baum from the Gartner Village Site pottery. In the same valleys occupied by the Ft. Ancient Culture we find evidence of a higher culture, and for my convenience I have designated this culture the Hopewell Culture, taking the articles secured by Prof. Moorehead from the Hopewell Mounds as the type. The Ft. Ancient culture occupied

portions of the valleys which were later occupied by the Hopewell culture, as was evidenced by the results of the explorations of the Harness Mound group during the past summer (1905). After completing the explorations of the Harness Mound, the articles taken therefrom being of the higher culture, I examined a mound located outside of the great circle and not far distant from the Harness Group, directly to the south, and found this mound to be a burial mound of the Ft. Ancient Culture. At the center of the mound, and a few feet under the surface, was found an intrusive cremated burial, similar in every respect to the cremated burials of the Harness Mound. The artifacts of the Hopewell Culture can in almost every object used in common by the two cultures readily be distinguished from those of the Ft. Ancient Culture by the portrayal of the esthetic ideas of the artisan.

My conclusions are, as I have stated elsewhere in this paper, that the builders of the Baum Mound were isochronological with the dwellers in the Baum Village. As in all the sites of the Ft. Ancient Culture examined, the inhabitants had an inter-tribal trade, as evidenced by the copper, ocean shells and mica there found; that the dwellers in this village were pre-Columbian, as no objects showing European contact were met with and the village was occupied by the same culture in all its parts.



FIG. 84 — Cut metatarsal of the Mountain Lion (three-fourths size).

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E. O. Randall

JANUARY, 1906

SAMUEL S. RICKLY.

Samuel Strasser Rickly died at his residence at 347 East Broad street, Columbus, Ohio, on the evening of November 22d, 1905. Mr. Rickly was one of the founders of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and from the date of its organization was one of its most influential and valuable members. It is due his memory at this time to recall and place on record the inestimable service which he has rendered the society.



SAMUEL S. RICKLY.

On the evening of February 12, 1885, an informal meeting of several gentlemen was held in the State Library, Columbus, to take steps towards the organization of a state archæological and historical society. It was decided to issue a call for a state convention of those interested in the formation of such a society, said convention to convene March 12, 1885. In the meantime, formal meetings of those especially zealous in the project were held to perfect the arrangements for the convention. In these preliminary meetings Mr. S. S. Rickly took active part and was placed upon a provisional committee with Mr. John J. Janney and Mr. Charles Wetmore, Sr., for the purpose of securing temporary officers. Mr. Rickly was one of the most enthusiastic participants in the convention of March 12, 1885. His name is fourth on the list of those who signed the articles of incorporation and who were the charter members of the society. Upon an adjourned meeting of the convention, held Friday, March 13 (1885), he was made Fifth Vice-President, General R. B. Hayes being the Fourth. At the third annual meeting of the society, held in the Senate Chamber, State House, January 14, 1887, Mr. Rickly was elected Treasurer of the Society and was re-elected to that office at each succeeding annual meeting, and held the office at the time of his death. At the annual meeting of February 20, 1894, Mr. Rickly was elected a trustee, which office he also continued to retain until the date of his decease. Probably no one man, unless it be General Brinkerhoff, was more potent in the origin of the society and in its continuation than was Mr. Rickly. The Society was one of the favorite subjects of Mr.

Rickly's thought and activities. Until the last year of his life, he was rarely absent from the meetings of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees. The Society is therefore deeply indebted to him for its progress and achievements.

Mr. Rickly's life was an extraordinary and striking example of a long and successful career, based solely upon individual effort and personal merit. His life typifies the opportunities and accomplishments of a character actuated by industry and integrity. Mr. Rickly (Rickli) was a native of Switzerland, born January 2, 1819, at Buetzburg, Canton Berne. When he was fifteen years of age, the father, mother and family of eighteen children emigrated to America. From New York they made their way inland by way of canal and other primitive modes of transportation. To Buffalo they went via the New York and Erie canal, then by boat to Cleveland; from Cleveland to Zanesville, then to Newark, and finally located near the village of Baltimore, Ohio, where a settlement of their countrymen had preceded them. Bad luck came to the newly-arrived family. The change of climate, diet and mode of living caused serious illness, and in less than two months nine of the family were dead. Mr. Rickly was the youngest, and at the time of his death the only survivor of this large family.

Shortly after the arrival at Baltimore, Mr. Rickly, as so often happened to boys of those days, was indentured to a farmer in the neighborhood. His experience, too, was like that of many another "bound out." He was beaten, starved and abused by his master, and worked far beyond his strength. He resolved to be a free and independent man, and at his first opportunity he ran away. He worked his way East and stopped at Mercersburg, Pa., where Marshall college was located. He struggled through the course of study, graduating in 1843. He then fitted himself for the ministry in what was the German Reform, now the Reform Church. He was duly ordained after completing his studies, and continued as a preacher until forced to retire because of decline in his health. In 1845 he was married at Chambersburg, Pa., to Maria M. Reamer. Four children were born to them, only one of whom is now living, Mr. Ralph Rickly. Mr. S. S. Rickly, after entering upon the work of the ministry, had a number of charges, and came to Columbus in the year 1847. Here he taught and preached. His church was on Town street between Fifth and Sixth streets. He was made principal of the Columbus High School in 1848 and it was through his influence that German was introduced and taught in the public schools of the city. Shortly after his arrival at Columbus he became impressed with the need of a college in Ohio for his denomination, and he established (1849) an academy at Tarleton, Pickaway county, Ohio, which school was in the Spring of 1850 taken under the patronage of the synod of the Reform Church as the nucleus of a church institution called Heidelberg College, of which Mr. Rickly was made president. The same year this college, now university, was re-located at Tiffin, Ohio, where

it now exists as one of the leading colleges of the state. He gave up the ministry as a profession early in the fifties, though he preached at times for a number of years afterwards. He established a milling business in the old Rickly Mills on the Olentangy, still a landmark in the vicinity of Columbus. He was also elected clerk of the House of Representatives in the early fifties. His first venture into the banking business was in 1857. He and his brother, J. J. Rickly, established a private bank under the name of Rickly & Bro., which opened for business in the old Neil House building. The private bank was continued until 1875, when Mr. Rickly established the Capital City Bank. He was made its first president, and occupied that position till his decease.

Mr. Rickly encountered difficulties and defeats that befall most business men, but he always met them honestly and courageously. In 1873, owing to the large losses through the failure of another firm, he was compelled, for the equal protection of his creditors, to make an assignment, but he subsequently paid all his debtors in full.

After Mr. Rickly's long struggle and when affairs inaugurated were looking bright for him in a business way, the greatest misfortune of his life came to him. In 1880, while sitting in his bank one day, a man entered and asked the loan of some money. He presented some securities of which Mr. Rickly knew nothing. The money was refused. Thereupon the solicitor drew a revolver and pointing it at Mr. Rickly's temple, discharged the contents. The bullet crashed into the face of its victim, passing through his head just back of the eyes, which were both instantly and totally destroyed. Mr. Rickly escaped with his life but eternal darkness cast its impenetrable veil over his remaining days. But the glow of his spirit and the light of his mind shone brighter than ever. Nor did they ever become dim. His temperament was philosophical and his mind a store house of scholarship and culture. He unflinchingly and uncomplainingly continued his life work.

Mr. Rickly was always an indefatigable worker and the success of his life was due mainly to his unremitting capacity for labor. He possessed a remarkably strong and active mind. He was always a great student both of books and men. His view of affairs was quick, broad and deep. He was public-spirited and never failed to do his share in those matters that pertained to the public good. He was most loyal to the city of his residence. He took great pride in the material and intellectual advancement of the Capital City. He was one of the organizers of the Columbus Board of Trade and its first president. Educational matters especially elicited his interest. He made many pilgrimages from Columbus to various parts of the country, serving on commercial, educational and industrial committees and commissions. He first suggested the idea of celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. In 1885 he submitted a project for this purpose to the Columbus Board of Trade, advocating the city of Columbus, Ohio, as the proper place for the exposition. This project was later

taken up by the United States government and the Worlds' Columbian Exposition at Chicago was the outcome of Mr. Rickly's original scheme. Mr. Rickly was more or less interested in most of the leading public enterprises of the city, such as the park system, the erection of public buildings, the inception of the street car system, etc. Few men, if any, gave more time and thought and influence to the growth of Ohio capital than did Samuel Rickly. He was a forcible factor in the body politic; a warm and steadfast friend; a high-minded man; a cultivated scholar.

Mr. Rickly was buried in Greenlawn Cemetery, Columbus, Ohio. The funeral services were held on the afternoon of Friday, November 24th, in the Wilson Avenue Reform Church, at which the Rev. S. W. Seeman, pastor of the church, delivered the principal address; the Rev. C. E. Miller, Chancellor of Heidelberg University, spoke of the relationship of Mr. Rickly to the university; appropriate selections from the Scriptures were read by the Rev. J. P. Stahl, of Canal Winchester; prayers were offered by the Rev. H. A. Thompson, of Dayton, and the Rev. James Heffley, of Canal Winchester. The funeral services were attended in behalf of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society by Trustees G. F. Bareis, W. H. Hunter, C. L. Martzloff, B. F. Prince and E. O. Randall; Mr. E. F. Wood, Assistant Treasurer, and Prof. W. C. Mills, Curator.



THE RIVER RAISIN MONUMENTS AT MONROE, MICHIGAN.

JOHN M. BULKLEY.

The erection at Monroe, Michigan, in September, 1904, of a monument to fitly commemorate one of the most important,



RIVER RAISIN MONUMENT.

as it was one of the most tragic events in the history of the Northwest, was a notable occasion in that city, and witnessed by a most distinguished assemblage of men and women of Michigan, Ohio and Kentucky. The monument was made possible by the persistent and patriotic efforts of the ladies composing the Civic Improvement League of Monroe, and their influence in

bringing about the action by the State legislature of Michigan, which made an appropriation of \$5,000 and appointed a commission to carry the work to a successful issue. This commission consisted of Hon. H. A. Conant of Monroe, Ex-Lieut. Governor John Strong of South Rockwood, and Hon. R. B. Robbins of Adrian. The citizens of Monroe undertook to raise an amount of money that should be equal to defraying all the expenses of properly and becomingly dedicating the monument, and all other expenses aside from the bare cost of the monument itself. This was patriotically accomplished, and the occasion was one reflecting the highest credit upon the city and one long to be remembered. The principal oration was by Hon. J. C. Burroughs, U. S. Senator from Michigan, and addresses were made by the Hon. H. V. McChesney, Secretary of State of Kentucky; the Hon. Thos. T. Crittenden, Kansas City, Mo., and Colonel Bennett H. Young of Louisville, Ky.

The site of the monument which was fixed by the enactment providing for the memorial is in a beautiful new park on Monroe Street, where the bones of many of the massacred were buried, near the Toledo and Monroe thoroughfare, and well within view of passengers on the Detroit, Monroe & Toledo Short Line Electric Railway. It is built of granite, massive and graceful in its proportions, bearing upon the east front pilasters the State seals of Kentucky and Michigan in bronze, with the inscription which follows, upon the broad panel:

MICHIGAN'S TRIBUTE TO KENTUCKY.
—
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED
TO THE
MEMORY OF THE HEROES WHO
LOST THEIR LIVES IN DEFENSE OF OUR COUNTRY
IN THE BATTLE AND MASSACRE AT THE RIVER RAISIN,
JANUARY 22-23, 1813.
ERECTED BY THE STATE OF MICHIGAN,
1904.

The completed monument, while it is not pretentious or elaborate, speaks to the beholder in a language that impresses him

with the dignity of its spirit, and the patriotism and gratitude of the people who erected it. Really, the inception of the movement to erect this monument dates for back into the '70's, and was the outgrowth of another remarkable assemblage in Monroe.

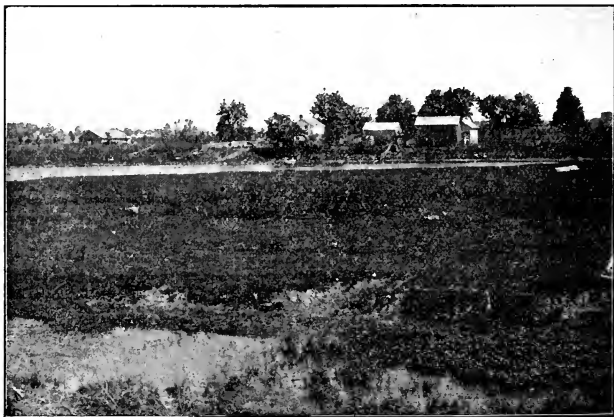
In the year 1872 a most notable gathering which probably has no counterpart in history took place in Monroe, at a celebration of the Fourth of July, when nearly one hundred of the survivors of the massacre, gray haired men from Kentucky and Ohio, were present, whose ages averaged above 75 years. One of those who attended this reunion was General Leslie Combs, who was at the time 91 years of age, vigorous as a man of half those years. General Custer was master of ceremonies, and Chief Justice James V. Campbell was the chief orator who addressed an assemblage estimated at 20,000 people. The occasion is remembered as the greatest and most interesting celebration ever held in Southern Michigan. One of the most remarkable feats in connection with this event was the success attending the transportation of this large number of men of advanced age such long distances and returning them to their homes without the occurrence of an accident or a case of illness.

At that reunion and celebration it was proposed to follow it up immediately by a movement to erect a monument. This proposition, under the patriotic impulses of the occasion, met with spontaneous and enthusiastic endorsement, but like many another well conceived and meritorious scheme it was allowed to rest, until through lack of prompt and concerted action, interest flagged and was before the end of the year practically forgotten. After a lapse of thirty years it is a living certainty.

Of the tragedy itself, which by its cause, the unspeakable barbarity of its perpetration and by reason of the unparalleled circumstances of heroism of the men of our sister state may well be counted a national one, it may be not inappropriate to speak briefly in this article.

Whatever may be said of the failure to connect the events with the British authorities of the home or colonial government, there is absolutely no palliation of the outrageous conduct of the officers in command of the British forces, and their savage allies, whose atrocities no effort was made to control or check.

To return for a brief glance at the occurrences, immediately preceding the war, we find that it was determined, if possible by the participators in the profits of the old monopolies, to retain Michigan at least in its old relations of trade, if not of government. By Jay's treaty estates were to be protected without forfeiture in consideration of exchange of allegiance. Purchases of lands from Indians were forbidden by the laws of both coun-



BATTLEGROUND ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER RAISIN.

tries. But, between the date of that treaty and the change of possession, titles were obtained or fabricated with the immediate co-operation of persons connected with the local government, whereby the Indians purported to grant Detroit merchants all the land between the Sandusky and the Central meridian of Michigan as far north as Saginaw Bay, including the whole tract anciently known to the French and Indians as Saginaw county, then supposed to be the richest fur country in America. Knowing the illegality of these purchases, the conspirators devised a notable scheme of corruption. In 1795 they organized a company to purchase of congress, for a nominal sum, the entire lower peninsula of Michigan; the first step being the preliminary pur-

chase of members enough to carry through the measure. They were unfortunate in this effort, as the members whom they approached, appearing to fall in with the scheme, led them on to a full disclosure and then exposed them. The disappointed agents were let off with a light punishment for contempt by the house of representatives.

The men engaged in this scheme as partners, elected, by an agreement in writing, under Jay's treaty, together with most of the business men (traders) of Detroit, to retain their British allegiance, the object of which can easily be guessed.

What was before a matter of policy became, now, one of border feud. The old agents of mischief were still alive, and kept stirring the Indian tribes to war with the whites.

There was throughout the whole country a growing belief that Great Britain would lose no chance of doing us an injury, and that she was no more friendly than before. Our ships were exposed to search, and our seamen to imprisonment on the high seas, and hostile emissaries, whose faces had long been familiar, were seen prowling among the lodges of the savages. The detection of Henry's mission to detach the Northwestern States from the Union showed that the Canadian magnates were intriguing on their own account, without the sanction of the home authorities. But the people drew no nice distinctions in these matters; and when General Harrison defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe, and foiled the scheme of Tecumseh, that battle was always connected in the popular mind with the War of 1812, which opened soon after. The war was not unexpected, but by a series of blunders and neglects, its opening scenes in this neighborhood were full of misfortune. The schemes already mentioned, as was intended, kept down the members of the border population, so that it could not defend itself.

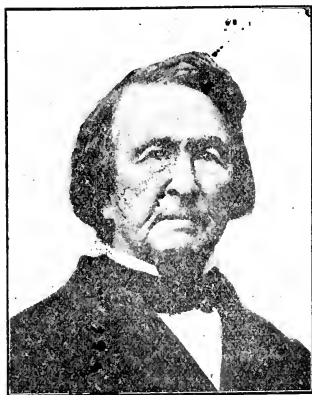
The backwoodsmen, scattered through the Northwest, as ready with the rifle as the axe, were eager to take part in the fray. A war on the frontier required a different style of proceedings from one in an older settled country; and men who had for years held their lives in their hands, not knowing at day-break that the sun would ever again rise upon their homes, or whether the torch and tomahawk would end all forever for them

and their families — these needed leaders of their own stamp, at once vigilant, prompt and daring.

During the following winter the inhabitants of Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan) and all the smaller settlements in the vicinity of the River Raisin, were subjected to great annoyances and indignities from the Indians, and were threatened with all the evils of savage cruelty. Proctor, who now commanded in this part of Canada, appears to have had none of the soldierly or manly qualities which characterized Brock, his predecessor in com-

mand. He gave full license to his barbarous and savage associates, and their outrages alarmed the whole frontier.

At the urgent appeal of the people of Frenchtown, General Winchester sent up from his camp on the Maumee a force of between 600 and 800 men, under command of Col. Lewis, who arrived with his force on January 18th, 1813. On the day this command left camp, Winchester prepared a dispatch to inform General Harrison of this movement, stating that his prime object was to prevent the flour and grain being carried off by the



GEN. LESLIE COMBES OF LEXINGTON,
KENTUCKY.

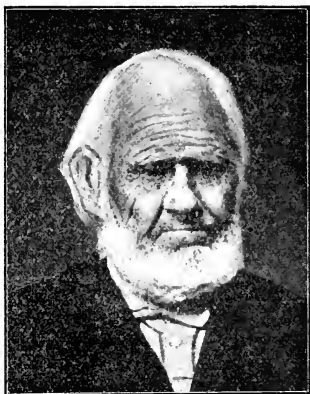
enemy; then, if he got possession of Frenchtown he intended to hold it, and that a co-operating force from the right wing might be necessary. Before the express started with this letter, information was received from Col. Lewis, a distance of twenty miles in advance, that there was a force of 400 Indians at the River Raisin, and that Col. Elliott was expected from Malden, with a detachment to attack the camp in the Rapids.

Colonel Lewis marched rapidly to anticipate, if possible, Colonel Elliott at Frenchtown. The route lay over the ice of Maumee Bay, and along the shore of Lake Erie. When arriving

within a quarter of a mile of the village the enemy was discovered in motion. Our troops were formed in line of battle expecting an immediate attack, but it was soon perceived that the enemy did not intend to risk a battle in the open field. Our men then assumed the offensive, and a general charge was ordered. The British regulars made a stand with their howitzers and small arms, covered by low palisades of enclosed lots and a group of houses, having in their rear a thick wood filled with fallen timber. The engagement soon became general, and continued hotly contested for over three hours, during which time they were driven back nearly two miles in a northerly direction through the village, and over the river, every foot of the distance under charge. Darkness prevented further pursuit, and our men withdrew in good order encamping upon the ground which the enemy first occupied.

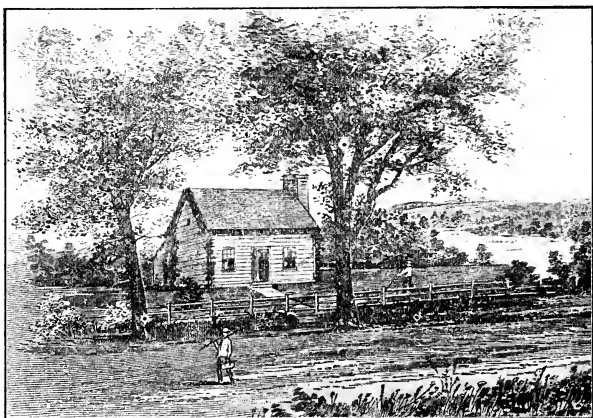
General Leslie Combs, of Kentucky, was with these troops on the staff of General Winchester as aid, being then about eighteen years of age. Many of the particulars of this tragedy were obtained from

him by the writer when he was the guest of the citizens of Monroe in 1872. He describes the action of the troops as gallant in the extreme, fighting with the greatest courage, which, following the terrible privations endured on the march through the wilderness for weeks, poorly clad, and scantily fed, displayed the heroism and powers of endurance more plainly than language can depict it. The loss of the Americans was twenty-five killed and fifty-five wounded; that of the enemy could not be ascertained, and probably never was known by our officers, but from the number found on the field where the battle commenced and



PETER NAVARRE, THE OLD FRENCH
SCOUT.

from the bloody trails on the snow where they dragged off the bodies of their dead and wounded the slaughter must have been great. Immediately after the engagement an express was sent to convey the news to General Winchester, and another to General Harrison, in hopes that reinforcements might be sent in time to hold the place against another attack by a larger force of the enemy. The situation was critical, for the lake and streams were frozen sufficiently to bear any weight, and the distance to Malden being but eighteen miles the way was not impeded.



THE LA SALLE HOUSE.

On the evening of the 20th, General Winchester arrived with about 300 men, all that could be spared from the Rapids, and encamped in an open space near the former detachment. Colonel Wells, of the Seventeenth United States Infantry, commanded the reinforcement.

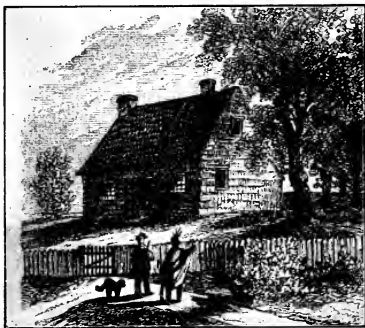
General Winchester established his headquarters at the house of Colonel Francis Navarre on the south side of the river about one hundred rods from the camp. (See cut on Page 149.) It was not considered necessary to fortify their position that night, but it was determined to do so on the following day. Leslie Combs

said of this circumstance to the writer: "I always considered it very remarkable that General Winchester should have fortified his camp every night on our march through the wilderness of Ohio and Indiana, when no enemy was near, and yet failed to do so on the night of the 21st while almost within hearing of the British guns at Malden."

Major Madison and Colonel Lewis together with most of the officers had cautioned their men to be on the lookout and prepared for an attack. Guards as usual were out, but as the cold was very severe, no picket guard was placed upon the road by which it was

most probable the enemy would approach. This fatal neglect was bitterly repented of the following day.

"At daybreak," says another informant, "on the morning of the 22d, just as the drums began to beat, three guns were fired by the sentinels. In an instant the men were at their posts. The British now began to open a heavy fire of cannon and small



HOUSE OF COL. FRANCIS NAVARRE, HEADQUARTERS
GEN. WINCHESTER AT THE RIVER RAISIN,
AS IT APPEARED IN 1850.

arms. They appeared to direct the fire mostly at the building, which contained the ammunition and where the wounded officers lay. Every circumstance attending this awful scene rendered it more alarming; the time and manner in which it was commenced — for they approached in the darkness with profound silence — the surprise was complete, and the result simply terrible. The roar of musketry, and the enemy's cannon, the flying of bombshells, the yells and whoops of the savages, the cries, shrieks and groans of the wounded all in the heavy darkness, made up a scene but little short of pandemonium itself."

The reinforcements which arrived with General Winchester, and which were unprotected by breastworks, after maintaining their position a short time, were overpowered and fell back. Just at this time General Winchester came up and ordered the retreating troops to rally and form behind the second bank of the river and inclining toward the center, take refuge behind the stockade. These orders may not have been understood, and, being hard pressed both by the British and Indians in front, and on their right flank, they were completely thrown into confusion, and retreated southward in disorder over the river. A detachment which was sent from the pickets to reinforce the right wing, and a few others who supposed the whole army was ordered to retreat, joined in the flight. Colonels Allen and Lewis both followed, endeavoring to rally the troops. The Indians had taken possession of the woods on the south side of the river and completely cut off their retreat, and the alternative presented itself either to fight a vastly superior force at great disadvantage or to retreat to more favorable ground.

In this dilemma, confusion reigned and the soldiers were shot down on every side. A rally was finally effected, and the men fought with the greatest courage and heroism, but Winchester, evidently demoralized, exhausted and intimidated, too, by Proctor's threats to let loose the savages on the inhabitants, unless he surrendered unconditionally, gave the order for the whole command to lay down their arms. The surprise and indignation of the officers and men knew no bounds, and Majors Madison and Graves bluntly refused to obey, saying that they would acquiesce in no surrender except on conditions which would save the sick and wounded from distress, the inhabitants from plunder and preserve the self respect of the troops. Proctor refused to agree in writing, but pledged his honor as a soldier and a gentleman, that these conditions should be observed. Madison little knowing the perfidy of the man with whom he was treating trusted him, and capitulated. Before the surrender even, the plundering began by the Indians. The wounded were left at Frenchtown, when the British with their prisoners, started towards Malden, but no guard was provided for their protection from the outrages of the savages. Proctor had promised to send sleighs

to convey them to Malden, the next day, but none ever came. Instead, however, there appeared about three hundred half drunk and frenzied savages screaming and yelling and brandishing their knives and tomahawks in a frightful manner. It had plainly been determined to kill and scalp all who could not make their way on foot. The scene that followed cannot be adequately described, say those who survived.

Many of the wounded were slaughtered in their beds, some were burned with the houses that sheltered them, or tomahawked in trying to escape from the flames. Plunder was the first object and nothing was left untouched; blankets were stripped from the sick and wounded; defenseless prisoners, women and children all were treated alike, and when nothing remained for them to steal the awful scenes of butchery commenced.

Peter Navarre, a French scout attached to Harrison's army, was with the troops and was a witness of the massacre. From him a thrilling account of the affair was obtained just before his death, which occurred at Toledo in 1879. He was born in Detroit in 1786, where he lived with his grandfather, Robert Navarre, who was a native of France, a descendant from the best families of the old monarchy. He was a man of great endurance, never it is said, having been sick a day during the whole of his long and eventful life. His memory was undimmed, and the events of seventy years were as clear as those of but recent occurrence. He states that he stood near the house in which Captains Hart, Hickman and others of the Kentucky officers were confined, when the former came out and stood in the snow in his bare feet, pleading with his captors for his own life and those of his countrymen.

Several proposals for their own safety were made by the captives, offerings of money and houses, to be given on their safe arrival at Detroit. But all these were treated with contempt and derision. Captain Hart then asked what was to be done with the prisoners left behind. The reply was, "Boys, you are all to be killed and scalped."

The brave Hart received this appalling declaration with wonderful coolness and composure, and turned to enter the house just as a powerful Indian dragged out the dead body of Major

Hickman. "The last I saw of Captain Hart," said Navarre, "he was standing under the great elm tree in front of the house where the prisoners were confined, and an Indian was in the act of raising his tomahawk to strike him to the earth; and it was here, doubtless, that the brave Kentuckian met his death."

The carnage went on, now unrestricted, and none were spared except to have their miseries prolonged by tortures along the frozen and snow covered road towards Malden, which place very few reached. The news of the terrible disaster, as may be supposed, filled Kentucky with mourning and the cries of mothers, widows and orphans were heard in every community. The news at Lexington was received while the people were at the theatre. The greatest consternation prevailed and the audience left the house. The best blood of the country had been poured out like water. Col. Allen stood at the head of the legal profession, Captain Simpson had just been elected to congress, Major Graves, of the volunteers, Captain Hart, a brother-in-law of Henry Clay, and Captains Mead and Edwards, of the Seventeenth U. S. Infantry, previously distinguished at the Battle of Tippecanoe, under Colonel Davies, besides scores of others from the best families in the state, either fell in battle or were wounded and afterwards massacred.

Throughout the whole west arose the cry of vengeance. The rally to arms was made with the fixed purpose that their weapons should not be laid aside until red and white savages alike, should yield to the arms of civilization, and the soil where their brothers were slaughtered should be purged of every vestige of British and Indian sway.

The war cry, "KENTUCKIANS, REMEMBER RIVER RAISIN!" became a terror to all foes.

On the 5th of October following, the battle of the Thames was fought, where the cowardly Proctor fled, and Tecumseh was slain. The combined forces of British and Indians were routed. The Indian Confederacy was dissolved and the warriors deserted the British for the "Long Knives," while General Harrison's kindness to the starving tribes completed the conquest, and the future of Michigan and the Northwest was secured.

THE MONUMENT ON THE BATTLE GROUND OF THE RIVER RAISIN
AT MONROE, MICHIGAN.

On the north bank of the River Raisin in Monroe, Michigan, has been erected an appropriate and impressive pile to mark the site of the two battles which were fought there; this too was done mainly through the instrumentalities of the women who compose the Civic Improvement Society of Monroe. The monument is built of the native field boulders found in the vicinity, laid in cement and rises to a height of about twelve feet, having a base some eight feet square and a pyramidical apex. Upon the east and west faces are oblong tablets of polished granite with these inscriptions in relief:



MONUMENT ON BATTLEFIELD OF RIVER
RAISIN.

Inscription on the west side shown in accompanying cut:

SITE OF THE BATTLES OF JAN. 18-22 AND OF THE
RIVER RAISIN MASSACRE.

JANY. 23, 1813.

ERECTED BY THE CIVIC IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY OF
THE WOMEN OF MONROE, MICH.

1904.

Inscription on the east side:

800 AMERICANS UNDER COLONELS LEWIS, ALLEN AND
WELLS FOUGHT DESPERATELY AGAINST 3,000 BRITISH
AND ALLIES. FORCED TO SURRENDER, AND THO'
PROMISED PROTECTION, THE PRISONERS, LEFT UN-
GUARDED, WERE ATTACKED AND KILLED BY THE
INDIANS.

The monument which was unveiled in October, 1904, stands on the river's bank, a conspicuous object in plain view from the trains which pass a few hundred feet distant, and directly beside the line of the Detroit, Monroe and Toledo Electric Railway.

While it commemorates the rugged bravery, the wonderful fortitude and chivalry of that gallant band of Kentuckians who made their way through a trackless wilderness amid the rigors of a northern winter to respond to the appeals for help from the defenseless settlers on these remote outposts of civilization, it also with equal justice bears witness to the cowardice and baseness of the conscienceless victor.

It were well if this dark page in the annals of our country could be expunged, but history deals with facts, not sentiment.

Monroe, Mich.

SOME OHIO BOWLERS.

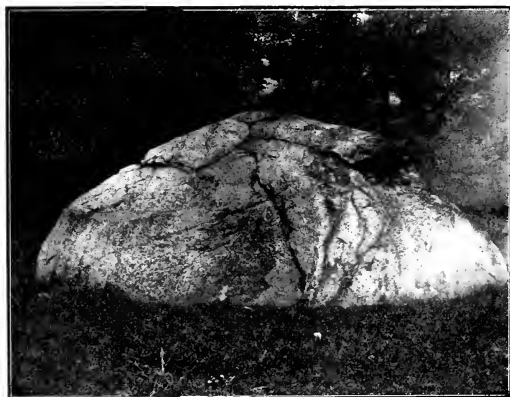
E. L. TAYLOR.

In the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Quarterly, July, 1905, Mr. Basil Meek gave an interesting sketch of "A Rock With a History." This boulder is found in Sandusky county seven miles southwest of the city of Fremont. The article referred to has induced me to give a short account of three large granite boulders found in Franklin county and near the city of Columbus.

The first of these is located in the bottom of a ravine, or rather the bed of a run, which comes from the west and empties into the Scioto river about three miles west from the center of the city of Columbus. The bed of the run at this point is about one hundred and fifty yards in width and the boulder is near the middle of the bed. It is on what is now the "State Hospital" grounds and to the north and west of the main building about a quarter of a mile. The late Dr. Edward Orton, who made the geological report of Franklin county, told me that it was the largest boulder in Franklin county, and, perhaps, in this part of the State, of which he had knowledge. This corresponds with my own observation. There are granitic boulders almost innumerable scattered over all parts of Franklin county. A great many of them are comparatively small, but many of them are large and vary in their composition to a very considerable extent. There is perhaps not a farm of any extent in the county where they are not found. In some places they are so numerous as to be quite a hindrance to the cultivation of the land, and thousands of them have been removed by the owners of the soil in order that they might better cultivate their farms. As we have said, this particular boulder is the largest of them all insofar as we have knowledge or information.

We give herewith a diagram showing its outline above the ground. The boulder is 49 feet around at the base and at the

highest point is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. No digging was done to ascertain what portion was beneath the soil, but the conformation of the boulder would indicate that at least one-half, if not more, is under ground. If that estimate is correct, the whole weight of the boulder would be in the neighborhood of from 80 to 100 tons, and this, we think, to be a fair estimate. The boulder shows evidence of very considerable disintegration. When it was first dropped at



BOWLDER NO. 1 — NORTH VIEW.

that point it was probably very materially larger than at the present time, and must have been seventy-five or more feet above its present position. The geological formation at that point was Devonian limestone, and this boulder was necessarily deposited there in the age of "floating ice" and long prior to the beginning of the formation of the Scioto river and its branches. The little valley in which this boulder now reposes is at least seventy-five or more feet below the upper strata of the limestone as it was at the time the boulder was deposited. Since that time the Scioto river has worn its way down through the limestone formation to its present level, and the numerous streams and ravines which lead into it have also been formed since that remote period.

It so happens that a dry run which drains the country west of it for two or three miles found its way to the river on a line where this boulder was deposited. The boulder is not many feet above high water-mark on the Scioto, and less than a half mile from it. We give herewith the outline as photographed in October, 1905. This photograph was kindly furnished by Dr. George Stockton, Superintendent of the State Hospital. The measurements were



BOWLDER NO. 1 — SOUTH VIEW.

made by Major A. D. Rogers of Columbus, Ohio, and are as follows:

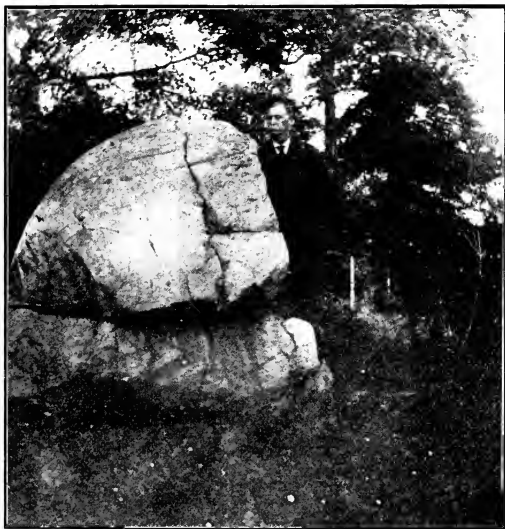
BOWLDER NO. 1.

Circumference at ground.....	49'
Height	7½'

BOWLDER NO. 2.

There is another very interesting boulder to be found almost directly northeast across the Scioto river about one mile from No. 1. It is on the east side of the Scioto river in a precinct or district called Grandview. Singularly enough it is just at the mouth of a deep and narrow ravine where it opens out into the bottom

lands of the Scioto. This boulder is interesting both for its size and its unusual height. Like No. 1, it is much larger at the ground than at any point above. In height it exceeds any boulder in Franklin county of which we have knowledge. Like No. 1, this great boulder has sunk down from its original position, probably seventy-five or more feet, as the elements have worn away



BOWLDER NO. 2.

the limestone during the long period which has elapsed since the water went away and the Scioto river began to take its form and cut its way down through the limestone formation. From appearances of the boulder it would seem that a very large proportion of it was hidden underground. No digging has been made to ascertain what is below the surface, but there certainly must be at least one-third and probably one-half of the boulder hidden beneath the soil. The dimensions of this boulder, by actual

measurement, made by Henry C. Taylor in October, 1905, are as follows:

Measure at surface	30'	4"
$\frac{1}{4}$ distance from base.....	29'	10"
$\frac{2}{3}$ distance from base.....	23'	4"
Circumference of top.....	20'	5"
Height	10'	5"

BOWLDER NO. 3.

This boulder is east from the center of the city of Columbus about five miles and is about three hundred yards north of the



BOWLDER NO. 3 — SOUTH VIEW.

line of the old National road. It is in plain sight from the road. It is situated entirely different from No. 1 and No. 2. It stands on the great level which extends from Alum creek to Walnut creek, and is about half way between them. The region round about is very flat and level in every direction, and there are no streams.

small or large anywhere near it. It rests on a bed of clay which overlies a heavy slate formation (Devonian shale), which is from fifteen to twenty feet below the surface. The peculiarity of this boulder is that it is slightly smaller at the ground surface than it is two or three feet above the surface. It is very symmetrical in form, and while not so large as either No. 1 or No. 2 is never-



BOWLDER NO. 3 — NORTH VIEW.

theless a very interesting boulder. The measurements are as follows:

Circumference at the ground.....	29'	5"
Circumference half way from base to summit.....	30'	5"
Circumference near top.....	24'	7"
Height	6'	4"

All of these boulders are on almost a line from east to west, and all of the same composition and probably came from the same locality, and probably near the same period of time. If a line were

drawn from No. 1 to No. 3, from east to west, they would all be within a quarter of a mile of a straight line, No. 2 being slightly to the north of the line. They are all within one-half mile of the line of the National road.

This bowlder has escaped injury at the hands of thoughtless persons, while No. 1 and No. 2 have both suffered severely by having large pieces pried or thrown off from them where time and the elements have opened seams in the bowlders which made the mutilation possible. Large pieces are lying around the base of each of these bowlders which could only have been detached or removed by human agencies. It is greatly to be hoped that this has not been the case in other places where large bowlders are found. They are by far the oldest monuments or landmarks that we have, having been brought here by the mighty agency of floating ice long before the waters subsided and the dry earth appeared in this region. They have been silent witnesses of the mighty changes and transformations which have taken place around them in the formation of hills and valleys and other changes in the surface of the earth in this region during the vast period of time which has intervened between the close of the Ice Age and the present time, and it would seem they should be exempt from mutilation at human hands, as they were brought here long before human life or animal life was possible in this region.

That there are larger bowlders of like nature within the borders of the state, there is no doubt; perhaps many of them. Prof. E. B. Andrews, who made the geological report of Fairfield county, says (Geological Survey, 1870, page 58):

"The forces which carried bowlders and gravel were evidently exerted in an unusual degree through all the eastern part of Fairfield county. A bowlder near the roadside a few miles northeast of Lancaster, is the largest I have met with in the State. Most of it is buried, but judging from the exposed part I should infer that it might weigh one hundred tons."

Prof. John Hussey in his report (Vol. III, Geological Survey, Ohio, page 437) says:

"The largest bowlder perhaps which is found so far south in this state is found in Clinton county on the county infirmary farm

near Wilmington, and this lies on a fine-grained clay upon which it would seem to have fallen by washing away of the clay in which it was formerly imbedded, and which, at a higher level, lies near it on all sides. This boulder contains about 1,200 cubic feet and weighs upwards of ninety tons."

In the same report (Vol. III, page 462) Prof. Hussey says: "While the transported rocks do not constitute a marked feature in Shelby county, still there are many of them. . . . The largest boulder, however, that has, as yet, come under my observation in the state, lies near the railroad one mile east of Sidney. It contains 1,250 cubic feet, and weighs one hundred and three tons."

Prof. Edward Orton in his report of the geology of Warren county (Geological Survey, Vol. III, page 389) says:

"Boulders, of northern origin, are everywhere distributed through the county. There are several of unusual size, and one of them deserves especial notice. It is found three miles to the southeast of Lebanon. The boulder is composed of gneiss—in which rose colored felspar is a large element—a composition shared by most of the largest erratics of the region. It weathers very rapidly, and must have had considerably greater dimensions at an earlier day. It now measures above ground seventeen feet in length, thirteen feet in breadth, and eight foot in height. Examination shows it to be sloping outwards under ground in all directions. It is fair to conclude that at least one-half of it lies buried. Its weight above ground will not fall below one hundred and forty tons."

The weight of this boulder as here given is greater than that of any in the State so far as I am informed. But a comparison of its measurements with Boulder No. 1 heretofore mentioned, shows that there is no great difference in their bulk, so that Boulder No. 1 may properly be classed among the largest of these erratics from the far off Canadian highlands in the State insofar as they have been observed.

Columbus, Ohio.

THE WYANDOT MISSION.

EMIL SCHLUP.

The present generation can scarcely comprehend the hardships and privations the early missionaries had to endure when the Ohio country was in a wilderness state. But brave men risked their lives in promulgating the Christian doctrine among the aboriginals of the forest.

The earliest Protestant denomination to enter the new field were the Moravians. Christian Frederick Post, who had been a missionary among the Moravian Indians in New York and Connecticut from 1743 to 1749, determined on a visit to the Delawares at Tuscarawas, now Bolivar in Bethlehem township, Stark county. This was in 1761-2, unfortunately at a time when the French and English were rival claimants for the soil west of the Alleghanies. Rev. Post built a primitive log cabin on his donation of land fifty steps square. Succeeding this humble beginning was established ten years later the Moravian mission at Schoenbrunn. This branch of the Moravian mission was received with great favor by the Delaware Chief Netawotes. Similar missions were formed at Gnadenhutten and Salem in the present Tuscarawas county. During twenty years of apparent success there was a lurking foe endeavoring to break up the missions. The Americans were in possession of Fort Pitt and the British at Detroit placed the missions in a sort of half way place between the two contending forces. It was at a time too, when the American soldier killed an Indian with as much delight as we kill a sheep dog in the present day. This was fully illustrated by the fiendish massacre of ninety-six Moravian Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten on March 8, 1782, by a force of Americans under Col. David Williamson. This rash act was more far-reaching than was at first supposed. It had a tendency to cripple the missionary work at the place for a number of years and called for a desperate revenge by the Delawares on

the Sandusky Plains, who were blood relation of the Moravian victims. On the 11th day of June, 1782, Col. William Crawford was burned at the stake by the Delawares in the present Wyandot county. A hundred of Col. Crawford's troopers lost their lives and were hunted like wild beasts for the sake of revenge.* Not until after the war of 1812-15 was there much of an effort put forth to Christianize and civilize the Wyandots and Delawares located in tribal relation in different villages in the present Wyandot county. Many of their number had been in-



structed by the Catholic priests at Detroit. For a number of years previous to 1800 some of the missionary societies of the eastern states were desirous of starting missionary work, not alone among the different tribes of Indians, but also among the new settlements in the northern part of the state. Rev. Joseph Badger was well qualified for the undertaking. In 1800 he made a tour of observation and was so well pleased with the prospects of a missionary field and he soon returned home for his family to be sharers of his new missionary labors. His work was principally divided between the Western Reserve and the country bordering on the Sandusky and Maumee rivers. Rev.

* See account of Crawford Masacre, Volume VI, page 1, Ohio State Archæological and Historical Publications.

Badger was born at Wilbraham, Mass., in 1757. He served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War, graduated at Yale College in 1785 and in 1787 was ordained as a minister of the gospel. In the war of 1812 he was appointed chaplain by Governor Meigs to the American army. In 1835 he moved to Plain township, Wood county, where he died in 1846, aged 89 years.

The Delawares were tenants at will under the Wyandots and it was a hard matter to civilize or Christianize them until they were thoroughly conquered and placed on reservations. The natural love of "fire water" and the vices of degenerate white men found their morality at a pretty low ebb. The Seneca prophet at one time pretended to have divine revelation, stating that it was in consistency with the wishes of the Great Spirit that the red men should all unite and forever drive the white intruder from the hunting grounds of their forefathers. The Shawnee prophet, brother to the celebrated Tecumseh, followed. He pretended that he had conversed with the Great Spirit that the nations should all unite their forces, quit using strong drink and the Great Manito would lead them to a decided victory. Both in their turn had a strong following. But their delusions soon exploded. The day dawned when the true gospel trumpet was to be sounded and dark heathenism forever banished from the fair Sandusky plains. The humble instrument chosen was in the person of John Stewart, a mulatto, who was born in Powhatan county, Va., in 1786. His youth was spent in ignorance, and when his parents moved to Tennessee they left young Stewart behind to shift for himself. He learned the trade of blue-dying. In attempting to join his parents he was robbed of all his money at Marietta, Ohio. This so depressed him that he wandered to the Ohio river with suicidal intent. But instead of ending his life there he chose a longer course by strong drink and vile dissipation. In the fall of 1814 he became dangerously ill, no one expecting him to live. He resolved within himself that if he ever recovered, he would preach the gospel. His resolutions were well kept and a powerful impulse directed him toward the Northwest. At Goshen on the Tuscarawas river he was informed by some converted Moravian Delawares that they

had kinsmen on the Sandusky plains, that there he could likely do good. In Nov., 1816, he dropped into Captain Pipe's Delaware village at the mouth of the Brokensword Creek. This Captain Pipe was the son of the Captain Pipe who was so officious in the burning of Col. William Crawford. He there learned of the Indian village of Upper Sandusky. William Walker was Indian sub-agent and interpreter. Stewart was at first suspected as a runaway slave. The Delawares of a neighboring tribe were preparing for a great feast. Jonathan Pointer, who was familiar with the Indian language, was soon chosen as interpreter. He was born at Point Pleasant, Va., and in his youth was cultivating corn in a field with his master, who was shot down by a band of marauding Indians and Jonathan the colored lad was carried north and grew up with the Indians. Stewart asked his new acquaintance to take him along to the Delaware feast. The Indians got so loud and wild in their demonstrations that this self-appointed missionary came near being scared out. After the turbulence had somewhat subsided, Stewart drew forth a hymn book and with his sweet melodious voice charmed to silence his savage listeners. When the first hymn was completed, Indian Johnnycake told him in broken English "sing more." John Stewart was regularly licensed as a regular Methodist minister in March, 1816. Previous to this some missionaries traveling towards the north noted that Stewart was making progress in the new work, and was in earnest. They demanded to see his license to preach. Stewart frankly told them he had none. He had solemnized marriages and baptized in cases of emergency. At a session of conference of the Methodist Church at Urbana, in March, 1816, Stewart received his license to preach. Some of the red brethren had accompanied him thither and vouched for his good Christian every-day life. Conference was so well pleased with the new mission field that they at once took it under their charge and it was the first-fruits and the beginning of the great Methodist missionary concern. Colleagues were chosen to assist in the work, but there was no missionary money on hand. A collection amounting to \$70 was taken. Money was also expended for furnishing Stewart a horse and pay for

some clothing he had purchased. In 1820 he thought best to wed, so he took one of his own color as a companion for life. He next wished for a home, and Bishop McKendre collected one hundred dollars, for which sixty acres of land were purchased on the north bank of the Sandusky river joining the north line of the Wyandot Reservation in Tymochtee township. A hewed log cabin a story and a half in height was built on the premises in 1821. The present land owner, Mr. Adam Walton, still has the original government land patent, issued through the Delaware land office. The log cabin was standing until a few years ago. Also a large pear tree by its side. Both have been leveled. The pear tree made about a cord of stove wood. In 1821 a school was established for the education of Indian children. This was on the manual labor system. Stewart had a dozen Indian children in his charge. When he first arrived there were but two plows in all the Wyandot Nation. They usually dug small holes into the ground and planted their maize and vegetables. Each family was thus cultivating from two to three acres, the squaws doing most of the hard labor. Stewart had now labored six years to moralize and christianize these people. He had gained full confidence of the Indians and really did good work. He paved the way for the subsequent missionaries who thoughtfully and humanely used their influence for the betterment of the red man of the forest. In the fall of 1823 Stewart began to realize his bodily frailties. Consumption, brought on by his youthful dissipation and intemperance, was now at work at his vitals. On Dec. 17, 1823, John Stewart departed this life after a life-span of thirty-seven years.* His body was buried in his own garden on his farm. Previous to the Wyandots' leaving the reservation they gathered his bones and buried them on the south side of the Wyandot Mission Church at Upper Sandusky. A suitable marble slab was placed over his grave. Vandals carried away the entire tombstone in 1866. At the restoration of the Old Mission Church in 1889 there

* See the Introduction of Methodism in Ohio by Rev. I. F. King, Volume X, page 195, Ohio State Archæological and Historical Publications.

was was placed over his grave a new marker, presenting the inscription, "Earth for Christ."

At the Ohio Methodist annual conference held at Cincinnati, Aug. 7, 1819, Rev. James B. Finley was appointed to the Lebanon, Ohio, district, which extended from the Ohio river and included the territory of Michigan which also embraced this new Wyandot mission field. Rev. Finley gave eight years of very trying labor at this place; the first two as presiding elder and the six following years as resident missionary. Born in North Carolina, July 1, 1787, he grew to manhood years amid the hardships incident to frontier life. In 1800 he completed his medical studies and received the permit to practice. Not liking the profession he never made it his calling. In 1809 he was regularly licensed to preach the gospel, and for forty years he earnestly labored in the vineyard of his calling. In 1846 and for three years was chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary. He died September 6, 1857, aged 76 years. His burial place is at Old Mound Cemetery, Eaton, Ohio.

He possessed a rugged constitution and full of zeal and many of the other requirements of the backwoods ministry that gave him a great influence among the early settlers and the Indians as well.

In 1819 Rev. Finley was appointed one of a committee of three to aid the mission and provide for the missionaries. This year also Rev. James Montgomery was appointed to come and preach once a month. He had not long proceeded with his work when John Johnson, Indian agent, desired his services as sub-agent among the Senecas. After the committee deliberated it was decided that he should go, thinking that much good might result thereby. Rev. Finley then employed Moses Henkle to fill this station. It was further agreed that the first quarterly meeting for the mission begin on November 13 at Zanesfield at the house of Ebenezer Zane, a half white man. About sixty Indians responded to the call. The hewed log house is still standing about five miles south-



J. B. FINLEY.

east from Upper Sandusky, on the east bank of the Sandusky river.

Among the number were the prominent chiefs Mononcue, Between-the-logs, John Hicks, and Scutash. Robert Armstrong and Jonathan Pointer were the interpreters. It was the first quarterly meeting with the Indians, and the first time Rev. Finley ever tried to preach through an interpreter. Some of the English hymns had been translated into the Wyandot language, and thus they blended their voices in their Great Maker's praise. He preached to them Christ crucified, how He was scorned and rejected. He told them about the conversion of the three thousand at Jerusalem after His ascension. At this the Indians expressed great wonder and the cabin rang with exclamations of surprise, "waugh! waugh!" and shouted "great camp meeting!" The meeting was kept up all night, and in the morning when the parting hand was given, sixty of them signified their intention of always living Christian lives. The question was then put whether they further desired the labors of the missionaries. After a number of days and consulting all the chiefs it was decided in the affirmative. Five of the most prominent of the nation signed this decision on July 20, 1820. Their names were Between-the-Logs, John Hicks, Peacock, Squindeghty and Mononcue, chief speaker. It must be remembered that in the previous year of our government by a treaty at the Maumee Rapids gave this noted tribe a reservation of about one hundred and forty-four square miles, the central portion of the present Wyandot county, the center of which was Fort Ferree, now Upper Sandusky. Rev. Finley saw by this limitation and by the wild game growing more scarce that the Indian must soon learn to work or starve. The numerous deer, bear and turkey, he once tracked in the snow were fast becoming visions of the past. They ever acknowledged that the Great Spirit always supplied their wants. The majority of them cared but little for tomorrow. Rev. Finley frequently urged upon them the education of their youth on the manual labor system. It was on about the same working order as that of the Moravian mission at Goshen on the Tuscarawas river in 1772. This earnest appeal took place while

Rev. Finley was on his way to a quarterly meeting at Detroit in July, 1821. The Wyandot Indians after meeting in council, finally decided on having a resident missionary, one who could teach, baptize them and solemnize marriages among the nation. They agreed to donate a section of land for the mission and school. The agreement was signed by the chiefs Du-un-quot, Between-the-Logs, John Hicks, Mononcue, Andanyonah, Deandoughs and Tahnwaughtarode. The agreement was witnessed by Moses Henkel, Sr. and William Walker, United States Interpreter. A good many of the government officials believed at this stage of affairs that they should first civilize the natives and then Christianize them. But Rev. Finley saw at a glance that the savages he was called to serve must be thoroughly Christianized. Rev. Finley was appointed a resident missionary in August, 1821. The mission farm was a section of land just east of the Wyandot Mission Churchyard, about fifty rods northeast of the burial place on the west bank of the Sandusky river on a bluff at the foot of which is the spring of water that quenched the thirst of the Ohio militia encamped there in 1814 under General and afterward President Harrison. The place was called "Camp Meigs" in honor of the governor of Ohio. A short way down the river were located the grist and sawmill and blacksmith shop that our government had guaranteed the tribe at the final treaty, concluded at the foot of the Maumee Rapids in 1819. A Mr. Lewis was operating the blacksmith shop for the Indians at this time. It soon became Rev. Finley's duty to move and dwell at the new mission. He had been acting in the capacity of presiding elder for the previous two years. He had frequently swum swollen streams on horseback. He had endured many severe hardships that fell to the lot of the early pioneer ministry. He had frequently partaken of the Indian's hospitality of fried raccoon and hominy. But to this place he must bring his loving wife, the sharer of his joys and sorrows. They must come to the new field of work without even a roof to shelter their weary souls. There were no provisions furnished



BETWEEN-THE-LOGS.

nor supplies for the winter. Rev. Finley had but \$200 to the credit of the mission. He soon had a suitable wagon built and by Oct. 8, 1821, they were on their way to Upper Sandusky, drawn by an ox team purchased by Rev. Finley a short time before. They came from the vicinity of Greene county, Ohio, and made the trip in eight days. Sixty miles of the road were very bad. Necessary household goods and some crude farm implements were carried along. The brave mission family consisted of Rev. James B. Finley and wife, two hired men, one whose name was George Riley, Harriet Stubbs as teacher, and Miss Jape Parker, who assisted in the housework.

In the middle of October the mission family arrived at the place designated as the mission farm. There was no house nor shelter. Rev. Finley leased the newly built cabin by Lewis the blacksmith, for his own use. The cabin was without door, window or chimney. Their reception was greeted with the warmest affections. The first Sabbath all repaired to the Indian council house for worship. A spot was soon selected on the site of "Camp Meigs" for the new log mission house. Severe winter was fast approaching. Rev. Finley and his two hired men began felling trees for the winter's shelter. The first week one of his workmen left and shortly after a limb fell on the head of George Riley, knocking him senseless. Rev. Finley placed him on the wagon and hauled him home. After bleeding him he was ready for work in a few days. Rev. Finley had not done any manual labor for years and every night his hands were blistered from the use of the ax. But he hardened them by boiling white oak bark and making frequent application. He was not a little alarmed at their safety, exposed in an Indian country, far away from white settlers. He and Riley worked day and night and finally on the first day of winter completed a cabin twenty by twenty-three feet, without door, window or loft. As the good missionary work was moving along by the industrious Finley, there must have been times when his strong heart was sorely tried. There were unprincipled white traders and renegade Indians who tried to keep the Wyandots in the state of abject heathenism and drunkenness. At the quarterly conference held in August, 1822, Rev. Finley was duly appointed superin-

tendent of the Wyandot Mission. His health and that of his faithful wife was still bad, but by the latter part of October they again returned to the mission. Charles Elliot was also appointed missionary and school teacher. The other two teachers appointed were Wm. Walker, Jr., and Lydia Barstow. The newly erected log meeting-house was speedily prepared for school purposes. The Indian youth were to be educated in the English language. A committee was appointed to oversee matters regarding the school and the conduct of the children. This committee consisted of five of the best men of the Wyandot Society, four of whom were chiefs of the Wyandot nation, viz.: Between-the-Logs, John Hicks, Mononcue, Peacock and Squire Gray Eyes. The little society soon grew from sixty-five to over two hundred souls. The heathen party soon began to consider they were losing ground. One day Bloody Eyes went to the house of his brother, Between-the-Logs, to kill him because he abandoned his native religion. He grabbed a firm hold of his hair and with uplifted tomahawk both stood in momentary suspense. While the deadly hatchet was suspended in the air and Between-the-Logs was awaiting his martyrdom, in plaintive accents he asked if he had done him any harm, or if he was not just as kind to him as ever. He said if he was killed that minute he would go straight to heaven. Bloody Eyes finally desisted saying, "I will give you one year to think and turn back." The would-be executioner afterward joined the church and it is said died in great peace. The heathen party still continued its opposition. One Sabbath Rev. Finley was holding meeting in the council house, head chief Du-un-quot and his party came filing in. They were dressed in real Indian style: their head bands were filled with silver bobs, their head dress consisted of feathers and painted horse hair. The chief had a half moon of silver on front of his neck, and several half moons hanging on his back. He had nose jewels and earrings, and had many bands of silver about his legs and arms. Around his ankles hung many buck hoofs which rattled while he walked, to cause attraction. His party was dressed in similar style. The likeness of various animals were painted on their breasts and backs, and on them were marked figures of snakes. The chief walked in with all

his native dignity, and addressed the congregation with a fine compliment, drew his pipe, lighted it and began smoking. His party soon followed his example. Rev. Finley noted at once that it was all done for an insult. He continued his services and in his discourse criticized the haughty actions of Du-un-quot and his heathen followers. After the services were over the proud chief retorted by saying the Bible was not for the Indian, it was made by the white man's God, and did not suit the condition of the Indian. His following stood on tiptoe shouting, "*Tough goods*," meaning that's right or true, seeming to think they had gained the victory. The frontier ministry was not all sunshine. Still by remaining steadfast on the part of the missionaries much good was accomplished among the tribe. The year 1823 was noted as starting in on the manual labor plan. The Wyandots had made some improvement, it was essential to them and their posterity that they learn husbandry in its more progressive nature. They were scattered over their reservation of 147,840 acres, the center of which was Fort Ferree, now Upper Sandusky. In the summer of 1823 about one hundred and forty acres of the mission farm were under cultivation of corn and vegetables and what was included in pasture. Fifty acres were in corn and twelve in potatoes, etc. Sixty children, nearly all Indian and some from Canada, were housed and boarded at the mission house. The boys were regularly engaged at work on the mission farm. The girls were taught house-keeping, sewing and spinning. An orchard of about four acres was planted about this time, apparently of the Johnny Appleseed variety.* The orchard was planted on the west bank of the Sandusky river. Sixteen of the trees in the bottom land are still bearing fruit. Heavy wind, storms and decay have cleared the trees standing on the upland. Some of the living trees are eight feet in circumference three feet from the ground. They seem to stand out as silent sentinels of this early mission. Quite a number of the logs hewed for the log mission house are now doing duty as a poultry-house for the present owner of the mission farm, Mrs.

* For account of Johnny Appleseed see Volumes VI and IX, Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society Publications.

Barbara Frederick. Her deceased husband, Joseph Frederick, purchased the property in 1854. A depression in the ground with brick bats and blue limestone lie scattered about where the old structure stood. Several rods east on a knoll can be seen a pit where Rev. Finley burned the lime for the building, and where he states in his excellent history of the "Wyandot Mission" that while at work he had to frequently take off his shirt and wring the sweat out. The spring at the foot of the bluff is still bubbling forth a small stream of limpid water which in a few rods drops into the Sandusky river.

In the Spring of 1824 Rev. James B. Finley made a tour east and visited the City of Washington. The Indian congregation had outgrown the seating capacity of the double log mission house. Rev. Finley had an interview with President James Monroe. He also had an introduction to Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, who at this time was the principal advocate of state supremacy and whose teachings were the outgrowth of our Civil War. Both gentlemen were well pleased with the progress of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky. They interchanged views for some time and the result was, Rev. Finley received the government's appropriation, amounting to \$1,333. Rev. Finley wished to know from those officials if the money could be used for the erection of a new church edifice. Secretary Calhoun at once consented to this. He wished a very durable house of worship built to last for many decades to come. Rev. Finley returned to the mission with an ideal plan judging from the well-built walls. Stonemasons were scarce in those days. The services of John Owens, an Englishman and an assistant, Benjamin Herbert, were finally secured. Quarrying and hauling blue limestone from the nearby Sandusky river bottom was at once begun. The material was transported to its place by the primitive ox team. The size of the building was thirty by forty feet. Owens and Herbert completed the masonry and plastering by early fall and received \$800 for the work. In the year 1825 our government made its first attempt at the removal of the Wyandots to the far west. The greed of the white man could not endure them on fertile Sandusky plains. Rev. Finley championed

the Indians' rights, believing that if the mission was dissolved that much harm would be done in the good work for the natives. He was so persistent that some of the government agents secretly threatened his life. But to no avail. The government had asked a Mr. Shaw, Indian sub-agent, to resign his position. Rev. Finley from his natural ability was at once chosen. He was frequently placed in very delicate positions, the result of which sometimes awakened deep enmity. At the conference this year, 1825, Rev. John C. Brooks and wife were appointed to take charge of the mission farm and family. Provision was also made to receive twelve of the largest Indian boys into the circuit and give them an opportunity of fully acquiring the English language and learning some mechanical trade. It became Rev. Finley's duty to transport them to Urbana, Ohio, in an ordinary wagon, a distance of sixty-five miles, in the severe month of December. The route was mostly through a gloomy wilderness. On his first day's return trip the weather was getting very severe and not being able to reach a house he was obliged to camp out all night in the open air with but a thin quilt for a bed and covering. The fire he tried to kindle would not burn. This sainted missionary came near freezing to death. He arrived at the mission next day and from this severe exposure his health was greatly injured. The labors of the mission were now conducted by his colleague. He also found it necessary to resign his Indian sub-agency after serving gratis for sixteen months. At the close of this year and the beginning of 1826 sixty-five Indian children were under instruction. During the past five years two hundred and ninety-two had been received on probation; two hundred and fifty were retained in ten different classes; sixteen had died and twenty-six were expelled. The funds as reported, including annual allowance, amounted to \$2,454.47. The amount of disbursement was \$2,600. The delinquency amounted to \$145.52. Improvements and all other property about the mission \$10,000. The work at the Wyandot Mission was now attracting universal attention. Early in the spring of 1826, Rev. Finley received an invitation to visit the eastern cities. A good deal of the Christian aid and support came from those large

cities and the people were desirous of seeing some of the fruits of their labor. Four individuals started on a missionary tour from the mission farm on June 5: Rev. James B. Finley, Between-the-Logs, Mononcuc, and Samuel Brown, interpreter. Between-the-Logs and Mononcuc were regularly licensed preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They were early converted at the mission and were powerful speakers. The object was to get to New York City by June 14, the anniversary of the Female Missionary Society. By June 5 all were in readiness to move. They took the pretty general mode of travel in those days, on horseback. After arriving at Portland, Ohio, they had their horses returned to the mission farm. On the 8th they took passage on a steamboat for Buffalo. The little company everywhere attracted attention. A great many questions were asked about the Indians who were unused to steam navigation and became seasick. When they were shown the power of steam in carrying so much human freight they never showed the least sign of surprise. It was always considered among the Indians a great weakness or lack of self-command to be suddenly surprised. After the little mission party arrived at Buffalo Rev. Finley at once sought passage on a canal boat where there was no gambling nor any strong drinks sold. The canal boatmen of the several boats wanted them as passengers and there was a lively jostle to secure the party. Rev. Finley did not wish to subject his little band to the sinful enticements held forth to each canal passenger in those days. They finally boarded a boat on which religious worship was tolerated. The first Sabbath it was agreed that Between-the-Logs should officiate at the morning service, Rev. Finley at noon, and Mononcuc in the evening. The old-time sacred hymn as translated in the Wyandot language and used in all their services in later years in their camp meetings and their church was sung.

Yarro-tawsa shre-wan daros
Du-saw-shaw-taw traw-ta war-ta
Di-da-shaw-hoo-saw-ma-gawvah
Dowta-ta ya-tu-haw shu.

CHORUS :

Durah-ma-yah! drah-may-yah!
Did-so-mah-ras qui-hum-ca.

Yarro-tawsa shre-wan daros
Shasus tatot di-cuarta
Scar tre hoo tar share wan daro
Sha yar us tshar see sentra.

CHORUS :

On-on-ti zo-hot si caw quor
Skeat un taw ruhd Shasus so
You yo dachar san he has lo
Dishee caw quar, na ha ha.

CHORUS (in English).

Halleluiah! Halleluiah!
We are on our journey home.

Between-the-Logs then led with a very fervent prayer. Many of the passengers were greatly surprised. They never believed that the Indian could be gotten out of the rut of savagery. In due time they arrived at Schenectady, where they



MRS. MARGARET
SOLOMON.

took the stage for New York. They were kindly received in that city and conducted to the residence of Dr. Pitts on Fulton street. The party were considerably fatigued enroute but could not sleep on the soft beds of luxury, and spread their blankets on the floor and slept like free men of the forest. The little missionary party had at this time their pictures painted by J. Paradise. The writer in 1883 borrowed the pictures of Mononcue and Between-the-Logs from Mrs. Margaret Solomon, one of the last members of the Wyandot tribe residing in Wyandot county, Ohio, and had

them reproduced. The party next proceeded to Philadelphia and Baltimore, preaching and exhorting in some of the larger churches in those cities. Between-the-Logs on one occasion preached to a large congregation stating he was a child born

and raised in the woods. That in their early heathenism they worshipped the Great Spirit with feasts, dances and rattles. Brown, the interpreter took sick. Between-the-Logs told him to sit down while he proceeded with a description of the Savior's crucifixion, mostly by signs. In showing how Jesus prayed for his enemies he fell down on his knees and with uplifted hands and streaming eyes looked heavenward. This sign was understood and felt through the whole assembly of perhaps ten thousand people. He then arose and placing his left hand against the post that supported the stand with his forefinger, he placed the nail and with his hand closed drove it exclaiming, "Jesus! Jesus!" He then showed how His feet were nailed to the tree and looking up to the sun put his finger on one of his eyes and said, "Now that sun closes his eyes to sleep, this earth trembles and Jesus the Son of God dies." To close his description of the scene, this eloquent chief then leaned his head on his left shoulder, signifying that Christ had now dismissed His spirit. Then he turned his right side to the congregation and with his left hand pulled up his vest and with his right hand representing a spear, he struck his side as though he had pierced to his heart and drew it back quick with a whizzing noise, as if you heard the blood streaming and held his hand out as though the blood was dropping from it as from the point of a spear. The large congregation was enraptured. The speaker next clasped the Bible in his arms. After making various visits about the city, the lithe mission party again returned to the mission farm at Upper Sandusky, much elated over their eastern trip.

The Moravian Mission in Tuscarawas county was continued until 1823, a period of sixty-four years. And the people of that county annually meet at the scene of the Moravian Indian massacre. The Wyandot Mission continued until July, 1843, a period of twenty-seven years. The people of Wyandot county annually meet at the burning ground of Col. William Crawford, whose death atoned in the savage mind for the former great wrong. The blue limestone mission church erected in 1824 was kept in a fair state of preservation until 1860, when it went into rapid decay. The roof began to tumble down and the walls began to crumble and soon wild ivy begun covering the eastern

side of the structure. For nearly thirty years it stood in a dilapidated condition, exposed to the inevitable relic hunter and vandals. Congress was asked to appropriate money for rebuilding the memorable house but to no avail. Early in 1889 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church donated \$2,000 for the work and matters were pushed briskly along. On May 23, 1889, the corner-stone of the reconstructed building was laid with imposing ceremonies. On the north side is the inscription:

BUILT 1824.
REV. J. B. FINLEY,
MISSIONARY AND ARCHITECT.
JOHN OWENS, BUILDER.
BENJ. HERBERT, ASSISTANT.

Inscription on west side of corner-stone reads:

REBUILT 1889.
REV. N. B. C. LOVE,
REV. L. A. BELT, D. D., } *General*
JACOB JUVINAL, } *Conference*
H. W. PETERS, } *Committee.*
FRANK JONAS, *Mayor.*
OWEN ST. CLAIR & CO., *Carpenters.*
S. L. WALTER & SON, *Builders.*

A neat slate roof took the place of the primitive clapboard roof and in the west side of the roof in colored slate is the inscription:

1824
WYANDOT MISSION
1889

Instead of two south windows white marble tablets 36 by 70 inches have been inserted with the following inscriptions:

On West Tablet.

IN MEMORIAM

WYANDOT MISSION NAMES OF
MISSIONARIES AND TIME
OF SERVICE.

John Stewart, 1816 to 1823.
 James Montgomery, 1816.
 Moses Henkel, 1820.
 J. B. Finley, 1821 to 1827.
 Charles Elliot, 1822.
 Jacob Hooker, 1823 to 1824.
 J. C. Brook, 1825.
 James Gilruth, 1826 to 1827.
 Russell Bigelow, 1827.
 Thomas Thompson, 1828 to
 1834.
 B. Boydson, 1830.
 E. C. Gavitt, 1831.
 Thos. Simms, 1832.
 S. P. Shaw, 1835.
 S. M. Allen, 1837 to 1838.
 James Wheeler, 1839 to 1843.

BISHOPS OF M. E. CHURCH
WHO PREACHED HERE
1819 TO 1843.

William McKendree.
 Joshua Soule,
 Robert R. Roberts.

PRESIDING ELDERS, 1819 TO
1843.

John Strange,
 J. B. Finley,
 William Simmons,
 James McMahon,
 Russell Bigelow,
 John Janes,
 H. O. Skeldon,
 J. H. Power,
 Adam Poe,
 William Runnels,
 H. M. Shaffer.

On East Tablet.

IN MEMORIAM

PROMINENT INDIAN CONVERTS:

Matthew Peacock,
 Between-the Logs,
 John Hicks,
 Mononcue,
 Bigtree,
 Squire Gray Eyes,
 Summundawat,
 Harrahoot,
 John Barnet,
 Adam Sumpy,
 John Solomon,
 Jacquis,
 Little Chief.

INTERPRETERS:

Jonathan Pointer,
 William Walker,
 Robert Armstrong,
 Samuel Brown,
 George J. Clark,
 Silas Armstrong.

TEACHERS IN THE MISSION
SCHOOL:

Miss Harriet Stubbs,
 Miss Margaret Hooper,
 Liberty Prentice,
 Mrs. H. E. Gibbs,
 Asbury Sabin,
 And Wives of Missionaries.
 Jeane Parker, Matron.
 Mrs. Jane Riley,
 Lewis M. Pounds.

John Stewart's Last Words,
 "BE FAITHFUL."

The rebuilt Wyandot Mission Church was rededicated on Sept. 21, 1889, with imposing ceremonies. Rev. E. C. Gavitt, who was missionary at the place in 1831 was present; also Mrs.



E. C. GAVITT.

Margaret Solomon, one of the last of the Wyandot Indians residing in Wyandot county. She sang the hymn as translated in the Wyandot language. Great credit is due the resident minister, Rev. N. B. C. Love and his co-workers, in restoring the edifice. In July, 1843, the Wyandot Indians were transported to a reservation in Wyandotte, Kansas. The Sabbath previous to their removal they assembled at the "Old Mission Church," for a farewell service. Rev. Wheeler, who accompanied them to their western home, preached in Eng-

lish, dwelt on the life and labors of John Stewart, Jonathan Pointer, the colored interpreter, translated the pathetic address into the Wyandot language. Squire Gray Eyes, the native Indian preacher, next addressed the audience. He bid farewell to the "Old Mission," to the streams of water crossing the Sandusky plains and to their old homes and hunting grounds. The address was interpreted into the English by John M. Armstrong. They were all visibly affected by the leavetaking of one of the most daring and brave tribes of Indians that ever graced the plains of Ohio.

Upper Sandusky, Ohio.

"THE WYANDOT'S BRIDE."

N. B. C. LOVE, D. D.

The poem, "The Wyandot's Bride," written by Rev. L. B. Gurley, about seventy years ago, is an epic of over two hundred lines. It is in blank verse. It describes:

The Sandusky River rolling outward into the Lake:

"'Mid leafy groves, and prairies bright with flowers."

On this River the Wyandots,

"A remnant of an ancient nation dwelt"

Which in its waning glory,

"Was proud of its old name, '*Wyandot*.'"

When the poem was written many old chieftains lived:

"To tell of noble deeds and feats of war;
But the scenes of war had passed away."

They delighted to sit by their council and wigwam fires and by word and pantomime fight their battles o'er again while the hatchet and pipe of peace:

"Were pass'd around and foes were true friends made."

The poem is connected with an important event that occurred in 1816. John Stewart, the pioneer missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, inspired of God, came from Marietta, Ohio, to Upper Sandusky "to seek the lost sheep in the wilderness." His efforts were successful, and the work became too great for him, and he sought assistance in 1819 from the old Ohio Con-

ference of the M. E. Church and missionaries and teachers were sent him. A log school building was erected out of hewn logs, on the banks of the Sandusky a half mile north of the town. And later in 1824 the United States Government caused to be built the stone mission church near and west of the school building. The poem speaks of these buildings:

"Upon the verge of a grove-framed prairie,
Glorious with bright and beautiful flowers
God's temple rose, the mission school was there."

The landscape of this locality is picturesque to-day, and must have been more so ere it had lost its primal appearance.

One of these missionaries in the vigor of his manhood, and popular in Ohio as an orator, was sent here to teach. His oldest child Lucy was ten years old. While he did not feel this to be his, even providential work, yet at bidding of one of the "chief pastors," the bishop, he came and did all he could for:

"These uncultured children of the wild.
He was a man,
So good, so wise, noble, and yet so kind,
So peerless that beneath his glowing strains,
Of what seemed more than mortal eloquence;
The minds of giant strength, and culture high,
Would bend and bow as trees beneath the storm."

This missionary without a peer in the pulpits of southern and eastern Ohio, contrary to the wishes of the white people, who by the thousands had listened to him:

"Came with his wife, and little ones to dwell,
In that secluded spot; his eldest child
Was young and beautiful, and surpassing fair;
Of her I sing, and how her future life
Was so strangely linked to this native band."

"Ten summers o'er her head had rolled their suns.
On her fair brow and ivory neck
Flated her auburn tresses — her blue eyes
Were like the deep blue sky, so deep they seemed
Reaching the very fountains of the soul,
And mirrored back the sunshine floating there.

Her dewey lips were clothed with winning smiles,
On her cheeks the summer roses bloomed,
Sweet rang her merry laugh among the bowers,
That skirt the verdant lawn, and flowery plain —
She was so beautiful, so angel like
That savage eyes were charmed her face to see,
Proud chieftains bowed to kiss her childhood brow
And praise the angel Lucy good and fair."

The ingathering of the Wyandot children is graphically described:

"To the mission brought and taught and clothed."

It was paying the Indians some of the debt owed them by the whites. The Wyandots from their defeat — with other tribes — by Gen. Wayne in 1794, had been true and unflinching friends of the Americans. Gen. W. H. Harrison fully relied on them in the War of 1812 and he had no reason to regret it. For this service the Government failed to compensate them. They were wronged in the forceful deprivation of their homes on the Sandusky, and:

"Culture and toil were the hope of the tribe."

To the hewn log mission house the children came:

"From wigwams rude and forests old and grand.
Coarse were their scanty robes and wild their sports,
Yet their young hearts were merry and their songs
Echoed amid the emerald groves around.
Fair Lucy mingled in their childish plays,
Caught their wild tongue and sang their wild songs
And taught their wild tongue to say, 'Our Father.'
Among these youths was White Star, lovely boy,
Of mingled blood."

His proud father was of one of Old England's best families, and when a young man came to the Sandusky Valley:

"And for a spouse a queenly daughter took
Of a chieftain, White Star was their only son."

The boy at this time was thirteen years:

"His raven hair shaded a noble brow,
While deep beneath lashes dark and long,
Reposed two brilliant eyes, and fit he seemed
To be the leader of that happy band."

The poem tells us of the happy and natural life of the children of the mission school and that White Star and Lucy the happiest of all, were often found together with environment of the rippling waters of Sandusky River, the crystal water of the big spring flowing out into a brook, in the meadow, in which wild flowers bloomed. For a year they were friends with the unconscious and unknown tie of pure love uniting their artless souls. They were children but mature children's love of each other early and true. Their acquaintance lasted less than two years, and then they had to part:

"Love was not named.
The noble youth saw tears in Lucy's eyes,
And scarce repress those gathering in his own."

The years passed. The separation seemed complete. She with her father to a rural home in central Ohio, near Mansfield, and he continuing with his father at Upper Sandusky, where his time passed divided between study in his home, his father, an educated man teaching him, and the work, the amusements and the hunting of the Wyandot boys in their "teens;" but:

"White Star and Lucy
Met again where learning lights the lamps
In classic halls and culture's hallowed bowers.
He with manly form, erect and strong,
And she matured in woman's opening charms."

And thus at Norwalk Seminary their lives were full of mutual joy, hope and love. But a letter came to Lucy,

"Come home, your father is sick and needs your care and help."

Soon after reaching that home amid her tears she saw,

"That head within whose walls the thoughts were born
That might test an angel's strength to bear
Was cold and pillowed in the lap of death."

Desolate indeed was Lucy's heart. How irreparable such a loss to the Itinerant's wife and children. The orator, missionary and great pioneer preacher was a martyr to his calling.

"The crape was tied to the cabin door."

White Star too was sad to hear of the death of his teacher and Lucy's father. He wondered if somehow they might meet again.

"She had not said yes, I love,
But he had read it in her speaking eyes
And soft voice, and rich carnation tint
That graced her brow and mantled all her face."

But would she consent to be his?

"Would she come to his bower content to dwell
Among the rude tenements of the forest wild?"

And Lucy too wondered if it were best to indicate her heart to White Star who longed to know. She remembered:

"It was then her heart first love-throbbing felt —
Then she first caught the missionary flame
Which never ceased to glow within her breast.
Then with those children of the forest wild
She past her sunniest days to memory sweet.
And then was he not a man? What though his veins
Bore blood averse to cultured race and thought,
Yet all could in him the white man's blood trace.
In mind he was gifted, learned and kind;
His manly brow glowed with conscious pride,
For he was versed in love, and learning deep,
In law, philosophy, and science and art,
And best of all, the love of Christ had thrown
Its mantle o'er his every thought and life;
Besides he loved her well and prized her most."

The following ends the poem and the story:

"It was a summer eve, a rosy tinge
Lingered on the beauteous western sky."

* * * * *

"They met once again at her cottage door,
He wooed and won and took her to his home,
This passing fair and most beauteous bride."

* * * * *

"Hard by a grove on verge of verdant lawn,
Their wildwood cabin stood where they could see
The Sandusky meandering through the vale."

The facts furnishing the *data* of this poem are as follows:

Russel Bigelow, a prominent Itinerant Methodist preacher was sent to the Wyandot Mission in the fall of 1827. Rev. J. B. Finley was Presiding Elder on Lebanon District, Ohio Conference. The district embraced one-fourth of the state of Ohio and reached up into Michigan to Detroit. This year the presiding elder was superintendent of the mission and Bigelow was assistant. The following year the latter was presiding elder of Portland District and superintendent of mission. Portland was called Sandusky City later.

Russel Bigelow had in the settlements and larger towns of Ohio won the distinguished honor of being the greatest pulpit orator of the West, and some ministers, it is said, were jealous of him, and had a pliant bishop send him to the Wyandots. I have the documentary evidence of this statement. It was wrong, but Bigelow did a great work in the mission and good came of it.

After this, his health being impaired, he retired to his home. He was appointed first chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary, but his health was not sufficient and he died in the middle of his active life. Lucy Bigelow was his oldest daughter.

"White Star" was John McIntyre Armstrong. Mr. Armstrong had one-eighth Indian blood. Mrs. Lucy Armstrong residing in Kansas City wrote me several times in 1887. I learned many things about her husband. I can for lack of space mention briefly only a few.

He was on the white side a grand-son of the scout Zane, and grandson of Robert Armstrong. His grandmother Zane was Indian and French and the most beautiful woman in the tribe. Mrs. Lucy Armstrong claimed that her husband was only one-eighth Indian blood. Others who knew him, say he

partook in complexion and many characteristics of the Wyandot. He was the attorney for the Wyandots. They had confidence in his legal ability and honesty. He was a member of their Council, and wrote their last constitution. When on his way to Washington, D. C., 1852, to look after interests of the nation he died at Mansfield, Ohio.

William E. Connelly of Kansas, a writer of pioneer and Indian history, and recently president and chief of the Wyandots, speaks of Armstrong in high terms.

Mrs. Lucy Bigelow in 1890 wrote me a number of interesting letters. She was then about seventy years old but delighted in good works. She was Secretary of the W. F. Missionary Society and Aid Society and W. C. T. U. of Kansas City. She died a year or two later. To-day the Wyandots maintain their tribal organization although citizens of the United States. Their organization is fraternal and social. The Wyandots are an intelligent and prosperous people. Mrs. Lucy B. Armstrong has two children living, Russell Bigelow Armstrong and a married daughter. Both are intelligent and respected citizens.

The late Thomas J. Pope of the M. E. Church, North Ohio Conference, married Lucy's sister. To them were born four sons, all of whom became preachers. The oldest, Dr. Russel B. Pope, died two years since. He was distinguished for his scholarship and oratorical ability. Two others, Dr. P. P. Pope and Rev. T. J. Pope, are honored members of the Central Ohio Conference. The former ranks high as an executive officer and presiding elder, and the latter as a faithful pastor and able preacher. The other son is, I think, a member of East Ohio Conference.

Toledo, Ohio.

THE "UNDERGROUND RAILWAY."

A. J. BAUGHMAN.

One of the most noted stations of the old "Underground Railway" in its time, was at "Uncle" John Finney's, in Springfield township, Richland county, four miles west of Mansfield, (Ohio,) about a half mile north of the Mansfield-Crestline trolley line. From the windows of the swiftly moving car, passengers can see the place where many runaway slaves found rest and succor while enroute to Canada in the ante-bellum days. But few persons, however, who pass by that historic spot now, know of the scenes that were enacted there fifty years ago.

It was during the administration of Martin Van Buren that the doctrine of the abolition of slavery began to be propagated as a political issue. At first there was a distinction drawn between those who were opposed to the extension of slavery and those who were in favor of its abolition; but as revolutions seldom go backward, the latter in time absorbed the former.

John Finney, a Pennsylvanian, located in Springfield township in 1820. He was a large man, a man of strong convictions, and organized the first temperance society in his township. He was a member of the United Presbyterian church and endeavored to live consistent with his profession. He was opposed to secret societies and to slavery. He was one of the leading Abolitionists in the county, and his place was for years the most noted station on the "Underground Railway" in North-Central Ohio.

The fugitive slave law not only required people to assist in returning slaves to their masters, but made it a penal offence to refuse to do so, which made the law so unpopular in the North that many people prided themselves more upon its breach than upon its observance. Politics in those days was a matter of sentiment and of principle. Politics to-day is largely a matter of finance and of commerce.

During the many years that "Uncle" John Finney assisted

fugitive slaves on their way to Canada and to freedom, several thousands were entertained at his home over night or longer, and were frequently taken by him to Savannah or Oberlin, from which points they were assisted farther on their journey. At one time a party of eight or ten fugitive slaves stopped at Mr. Finney's over night. He secreted the women in the loft of his house and put the men in a granary at the barn. Before daylight the next morning their pursuers arrived and demanded a search of the premises, which was denied without a warrant. A detachment was sent to Mansfield for the necessary papers of "search and seizure," and the remainder of the party were invited into Finney's home, where "Uncle" John exerted his great conversational powers and fascinating manner to entertain them. When breakfast was announced, "Uncle" John invited his guests to the table. They were hungry and partook heartily of the meal. They were then requested to join in family worship. "Uncle" John read a chapter from the Bible, after which he sang the 119th psalm, consisting of 176 stanzas—the longest psalm in the psalter. This was sung to slow measure and occupied considerable time, and time was what Mr. Finney wanted. A member of the family had given the negroes in the barn a tip to get away during the service. At the close of the singing, prayer was offered. Mr. Finney kneeled at a chair facing a window looking toward the barn, and he literally obeyed the command to "watch and pray," for as he prayed he looked at the barn hoping to see the darkies leave, which he had the pleasure of seeing them do, ere he said "Amen." He prayed long and earnestly to give the fugitives as many minutes start as possible before their pursuers could get after them. Although "Uncle" John's prayers were always of considerable length, the one upon that occasion exceeded them all, nearly a half hour being occupied in its delivery. In the meantime the fugitives had got beyond the reach of their pursuers, ere the detachment returned from Mansfield with warrants to search the premises. Mr. Finney looked the papers over carefully, never for a moment losing his composure nor suavity of manner. He went with them to the barn, telling them to search all they pleased. Of course their

quest there was a fruitless one, and as Mr. Finney had treated them to the hospitality of his home, they did not search the house, and the women concealed there were not discovered, and were later assisted to another "station" on their journey. The pursuers then asked Mr. Finney why he had not permitted them to search his premises upon their arrival, without necessitating going to Mansfield for a warrant. "Uncle" John blandly replied that he stood upon his rights as a citizen of Ohio, that his premises could not be searched without due warrant of law.

Numerous other incidents might be given of attempts to retake fugitive slaves, and in the majority of cases the pursuers were outwitted by Mr. Finney. The condition of affairs which then existed and which caused this "underground" mode of transit is known to the younger generation of today only as a matter of history.

Mansfield, Ohio.

ANTOINE FRANCOIS SAUGRAIN (DE VIGNI.)

"THE FIRST SCIENTIST OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY."*

N. P. DANDRIDGE, M. D.

In presenting my address, which custom has made one of the duties of the presiding officer, I shall depart somewhat from the practice of my predecessors, and instead of bringing before you some medical question based on my own work, or attempt-



DR. ANTOINE FRANCOIS SAUGRAIN.
(From an oil portrait, painted from life.)

ing a discussion of some topic now of active interest, I shall take you to the backwoods and try and interest you in the life and exploits of a pioneer physician, a life whose fine moral and intellectual fiber, I venture to assert, has much that is worthy of our consideration and respect.

I shall not be able to point out any such monumental work as was left behind by Daniel Drake in his "Diseases of the Mississippi Valley." Indeed, I have little to tell that is strictly medical or surgical history, but I hope to depict one of high scientific attainments and true culture with all the elements of character which become the physician and the man. Our wandering course will be a long one, and you will find yourself far afield as we cross over mountains and through the wilderness, and float down rivers whose banks conceal the danger of ever-hostile In-

* President's address delivered at a meeting of the American Surgical Association, at St. Louis.

dians, until at last our winding way will lead to the small French village of St. Louis, under its last French Governor, Zenon Trudeau. The courage of our hero in danger, his resourcefulness in difficulties, and his unfailing amiability and sweetness of character made him beloved by all who came in contact with him — and makes him a worthy predecessor of the great profession of this great city — a worthy son of France, the great country which gave him birth, and certainly entitles him to a place as *bon comrade* among the fellows of the American Surgical Association.

My information on the subject of my sketch has been largely obtained from a paper by Eugene Bliss of Cincinnati, presented to the American Antiquarian Society, and from the collection of papers relating to the settlement of Gallipolis, collected and arranged by John M. Newton, and now in the Cincinnati Historical Society, and a pamphlet on the "First Scientist of the Mississippi Valley," by W. V. Byars. From all of these I have freely drawn.

Antoine Francois Saugrain (*de Vigni*) was born in Paris Feb. 17, 1763. He came from a long line of "librarians, booksellers and printers," who, as far back as Charles IX and Henry of Navarre, had served the royal family of France. The *de Vigni*, which was but occasionally used, seems to be explained from the custom at that time in vogue in Paris of sending children to nurse into the country, and on their return they were known by the name of the village in which they had lived. Little is known of his early life, but it is evident he was given a thorough general scientific education, and that he studied "chemistry, mineralogy and physics." His general scientific knowledge stood him in good stead in the wilderness and he was ever ready to put in to the most practical use in his daily wants. His knowledge of mineralogy made his advice often called for in the development of the mines in the Ohio Valley. He supplied himself with ink from a natural chalybeate water and an infusion of white oak bark, and when in need of a fire lighted it from lens made by two watch crystals. Wherever he found himself he established furnaces and chemical laboratories and had his electric batteries, and in time of leisure he made thermometers and barometers,

which he readily sold. He was most observant of the resources of the country and its inhabitants, and has left acute comments on both.

He probably never practiced in Paris, for about the time his studies were completed his family, who were royalists, were compelled to flee across the Rhine, and for a time he did not know their whereabouts. Learning of a party of French coming to America, he joined them, and seems to have entered the service of the King of Spain, for we soon find him engaged in mineralogic investigations in Mexico, the friend of the viceroy, Don Galvez. This viceroy Humboldt calls "the enlightened Galvez." After his death Saugrain returned to France, but was never afterward able to shake himself free from the attraction which the life in the wilds possessed for him. In 1787 we learn from Brissot de Warville that Saugrain again came to America with a M. Piquet, a French philosopher, fully imbued with the ideas of Rosseau then in vogue on the "Rights of Man," and who believed in the "primitive innocence and goodness of the children of the forest." The two dined the night before they left Paris with Dr. Guillotin, who had married Saugrain's sister, and who, at that time, was undisturbed by his future celebrity. Piquet was a botanist, and Kentucky and the valley of the Ohio were their objective points for the purpose of studying the flora and probably also to ascertain the feasibility for a French colony. They reached Fort Pitt, too late to go down the river, and "established themselves in an abandoned cabin a few miles away." They suffered greatly from the cold and lived principally on "venison and potatoes." In spite of their hardships they busied themselves with their scientific work. Saugrain examined mines in the neighborhood and found iron, lead, copper and silver. With his hydrostatic scales he determined the weight and density of the various kinds of wood and tested their capacity for the production of potash; cornstalk he found the richest. March 19, 1788, the two set out down the Ohio. Piquet did not find that his humanitarian views of the Indian worked out in actual practice, for they soon killed and scalped him. Dr. Saugrain has left a record of the trip.¹

¹ Translation by Eugene Bliss of the Relation of a Trip Down the Ohio.

My Friends:—The ice having caught us at Pittsburg, you know that we were obliged to remain there the space of four months, and that in the end, the Ohio having opened, we saw with regret our first boat depart, carried away by the ice. We had another one made, in which we embarked to the number of four, to wit: M. Pique and Raguet, French; Pierce, American, and myself. We set out from Pittsburg March 19, 1788. We stopped at Wheeling (Woulige) and at Muskingum, and at Limestone (now Maysville), a place where a fine town should be built; in short, we continued our voyage without accident until March 24, always admiring both banks of the Ohio, which in places are magnificent. But on March 24, at half-past 4 in the afternoon nearly, being opposite the Big Miami, as the wind had thrown us a little on the shore of the Ohio, on the Pennsylvania side, and while we were preparing to put ourselves rather more out in the current to go faster, M. Pique called my attention to a flatboat which was on the same bank. Alas! He was far from thinking this same boat would cause his death. As we were getting away from the shore mentioned to gain the stream, we heard ourselves called by the Indians, who at the same time fired on us. At the first shot they killed my mare, and in struggling the poor creature pushed against M. Pique's, which gave me a kick in the belly, throwing me flat, and with another she would certainly have killed me had she struck me, but she only grazed the skin on my forehead. As the mare had thrown me flat the Indians thought surely they had killed me. I conjecture that from the shore they fired nearly twenty times, but none of their shots hit us, except that M. Pique was just grazed in the head, as I thought, but as he did not complain I believed it a matter of no consequence.

To get beyond the range of the balls we all four took to the oars, but we saw that the Indians all went aboard the flatboat we had seen near the shore and in front of which they had put some planking to prevent their being seen, and in this same planking they made holes to put their guns through so that they might fire on us without danger of being killed themselves. I left my oars to see if our guns were in order. Of the three we had I found two loaded; one of these was mine, the other M. Raguet's carbine. I hastened to load the third, as well as to prime two pistols belonging to the same M. Raguet. During this time the Indians advanced on us, and as they did not fire, one of us, I know not which one, proposed to raise a white handkerchief in sign of peace, judging it would be better to be a prisoner among the Indians than to be killed. They got nearer and nearer to us, even with some signs of friendship, and as they were near us, one of them was on the point of entering our boat, and as this unhappy man held a knife in his hand, I judged, with some reason, I believe, that he had no praiseworthy intention. I seized a pistol and sent two balls into his stomach. The pistol was no sooner fired than all the Indians, who were then standing, threw themselves flat in the boat, and in this position fired upon us. Then M. Raguet took his carbine and fired in turn on them, and I did as much.

Raguét fired three or four shots, but unluckily in his haste he put the ball before the powder, which a little retarded the quickness of the firing, and when, having reloaded his carbine, he wished to fire, not well seeing how to aim, he put his arm outside the boat, and it was at once broken by a gunshot fired by the Indians. (In a note at this point Dr. Saugrain adds: some one at the Falls of the Ohio said that I did wrong to fire; I think so too, for in the boats which have been taken before and since no one has been killed, inasmuch as no one made resistance.) I put my hand outside to hold my gun better and to aim better, and had a finger of my left hand broken. At the first shots that the Indians fired from their boat into ours the American who was with us jumped out and swam to land. This did us much harm, for the Indians, who perhaps had left us, fired much more. M. Raguét had his arm broken and I my finger. I think I fired but once afterward. As for M. Pique, he did not wish to fire, thinking, I believe, that the Indians would do him no harm if they took him prisoner, and instead of aiding us in our defense, he followed the example of Mr. Pierce. As there were left only M. Raguét and myself, we both threw ourselves into the water. As he had his arm broken and did not know how to swim, I believe he was drowned, preferring, as he told me, to be drowned to being scalped by the Indians. I had not yet reached the shore when I saw M. Pique and two Indians waiting for me, and I had no sooner reached the shore than they took me and bound my hands behind my back with some girths which serve them to hold up their blankets. They had no sooner finished tying me than I saw one of the two who held me go to M. Pique, throw him on the ground, and after having opened his coat and pulled open his shirt, give him four stabs with a knife on one side, and one on the other, and he scalped him. He put his scalp into a pocketbook which M. Pique had in his pocket. I leave you to think, my friends, what a spectacle for me! I expected for myself, as you well imagine, a like fate. But instead of killing me they made me run to overtake the boat, which, although it was headed toward the shore, had drifted nearly a quarter of a mile from the place where we swam ashore before they could come up with it. When we got opposite our boat one of the two went into the water and wished to take me by the hair to lead me, for the boat could not come near the shore on account of the trees which prevented it. As for me, such cruel fear seized me, seeing that he had not killed me and that he wished to cross the Ohio, I believed that he wished to burn me on the other side, and I made an effort violent enough to break the straps that held me bound and threw myself into the water. I swam with such force that he did not wish to run the risk of following me, and he did well, for my plan was, if they came after me, to seize one of them and drown with him.

Those who had jumped from their boat—swimming—to take us on shore, got into the one they had just taken from us and began to cross the Ohio. As for me, I held onto a tree, with my arms about it. Those Indians who were in the boat fired at me and wounded me in the neck.

When I saw the boat midway of the Ohio, I regained the shore, and when I went to see if M. Pique were dead, I perceived Mr. Pierce, who had concealed himself in the ravine. He came to me and we went to see M. Pique, who was dead, and in turning him over I saw that the Indians had not taken his watch. I took it, and likewise a knife and two dollars he had in his pocket. Mr. Pierce cut a piece of his coat to cover his feet. I had not the same forethought, of which I repented. We left M. Pique there and began to walk. It was very cold and I had nothing on me but a shirt and a pair of large breeches. I lost my shoes while swimming. At first we went a little away from the bank of the Ohio through fear of being seen by the Indians who were on the other side. After having made about four or five miles, night began to come on. I was very tired. I lost much blood by the wound I had in my neck, and as we found ourselves in a good place to sleep, there being much dead grass there, we lay down, and Mr. Pierce had the kindness to pull up a quantity of dead grass and we covered ourselves with it. I slept nearly three hours and my companion awoke me. We went back to the bank of the Ohio and he began to wish to make a raft. But he never could have succeeded, seeing that he was alone, for my neck was so swollen that I could not move my right arm, and my left hand was much swollen. Seeing that it was useless to work, for the vines of which he made use to fasten the pieces of timber all broke, we abandoned the attempt at a raft. We began to walk and walked a great part of the night. At last, about 4 o'clock, we lay down again. A fallen tree was the place Mr. Pierce chose. He lay down under it, and I got as near him as possible. It came on to snow, and as my feet did not come under the tree, and as it rained a little, I found my feet frozen when I awoke. I rubbed them a long time with snow, but uselessly. They caused me no pain, so we made a good day's march, always following the bank of the Ohio in the hopes we might see some boat, which, going down to the falls, would take us in. We were obliged to cross three or four creeks. The number of deer, pheasants and turkeys we saw is quite inconceivable. We also saw four or five troops of buffaloes, which came so near us that with a pistol I could have killed some. Night came on and we lay down. It still rained, little it is true, but that not the less caused much pain to my feet. The next day I could hardly walk, and my companion, who was impatient, left me often very far behind him. But I found a way of making him come. It was to sit down, and he, after having waited for me some time, thinking that something had happened to me, retraced his steps, and seeing my feet as black as coal and that I could not walk, he gave me his arm and cut a piece of his shirt to wrap up my hand. My neck was extraordinarily swelled, but it did not bleed any more. I chewed up a sort of agaric, which I put on it. We kept on walking, but very slowly. I saw a stinking beast, skunk (*bete puante*), and Mr. Pierce had no sooner seen it than he ran after it, and with a blow with a stick he killed it. After skinning it he wished to eat some

of it, but he could not. As for me, I cut off some little bits and I swallowed them like pills. This did me little good, I assure you. We could have cooked it had it not been for fear that the Indians would come to us, seeing the smoke. I could have made a fire without much trouble. The sun shone and I had two watches, the crystals of which would have made a lens by filling them with water and fitting them together. At last, after making so excellent a repast and a considerable halt, I took the rest of the stinking beast and put it in my shirt to carry it. About 5 o'clock in the evening we came to a house which had been abandoned. I was told (afterward) it was fifteen miles from the Big Miami, the place where we were attacked.

When we had rested half an hour a fresh desire seized us to make a raft, and we put into the water everything we could, and while my companion did the heavy business, as carrying the doors of the house, some fence or poteaux de barriere, etc., I cut into pieces my companion's jacket, which was made of buckskin, for that is very much used in America to make cords, and I cut the seat from my big breeches to make some socks to cover my feet. The whole affair went on very well. The raft was made and we were going aboard when from the other side of the river Indians fired at us. This did not alarm us much, considering the distance, but what did make us afraid, and especially me, was the Indians who replied from the side where we were to the cries of those on the other side. Then I took to my heels, and never in my life, I think, did I make so good use of them. My feet no longer made me suffer; in short, I felt nothing. My companion, however, was still more alert than I, and in two minutes I lost sight of him. At last I was obliged to stop because in running a piece of stick ran into my foot. My companion in misfortune retraced his steps, and as night protected us from the Indians, we lay down, and it was one of the worst nights I have passed in my life. I could not sleep, and at each moment I thought I saw Indians, and the march the next day was still worse, for although wide awake I saw Indians behind all the trees—each bit of wood was a gun, and I believe to alarm us more, all the deer had conspired. I had a great need of food—much exercise, involuntary baths, the quantity of blood lost—I ate some more stinking beast, "polecat." Before sunrise we were on the march; for the time I walked more on my hands than on my feet. I drew myself along, I know not how. We came to a creek, which I believe is a few miles from Big Bone Creek, and there, for the first time, Mr. Pierce and I had a little dispute. The question was about crossing a large creek. Mr. Pierce wished to go up to cross it; I was strongly for swimming across it. Seeing that he wished absolutely to make the grand detour and leave the bank of the Ohio, I did as I always did. A violent part seemed to me the best. (How much he has since thanked me for it.) To put an end to the dispute I went into the water. He had his back turned and could not oppose my plan. I was already in the water before he was aware of it. Thus I crossed fortunately and he did not delay

to follow me. It was about 11 o'clock in the morning. We stripped ourselves stark naked and dried our clothes. The bath did us good. When we were dressed we continued our route.

Nothing unusual happened to us until we got to another creek, which was nearly four miles from the last one we just crossed. As we were going to swim across it as we did the other, Mr. Pierce saw two boats coming down the Ohio. He called to them, but the boats kept off, believing we were Indians, but seeing our white shirts and our breeches, they determined to come to us. For this purpose they put all the men into one of the boats and left the other with the women and just one man to steer it. This took quite a long time, during which the current kept carrying them on. This time I did not have to beg Mr. Pierce to cross this creek, as well as two or three others which followed it. As for me, I followed him, but much more slowly. At last we swam out to join them, for they could not approach the shore on account of the trees which prevented them. It was surprising to me, arrived on board, to see all the people of the boat that received us with carbines in hand. But the fear of being surprised by the Indians obliged them to be on their guard. Arrived on board they undressed me, warmed some whisky and rubbed all my body, which did me much good. I drank a little of it and ate a little bread, which seemed to me good. They dressed my neck, which was much swelled. As for my hand, they did nothing for it. They waited until we should be at the Falls to cut off the finger—which was not done, thanks to myself. My feet were in a very bad condition and gave me much pain.

Two days' sailing were enough to bring us to the Falls, where I passed the night of March 29. The next day, which was Sunday, I crossed the Ohio to go to a fort situate opposite Louisville, where I was most cordially received. I was introduced by Colonel Blaine,² and Major Willis gave me a reception for which I cannot be too grateful. In short, I stayed in the fort with all possible comfort from March 30 to May 11. For three weeks I could not move, and every day they had to take out some portion of my foot, which began to putrefy, but with the care of the fort's surgeon and with patience, all has been well, and my foot is quite cured except the place where the piece of stick went in when I was running away in the woods. Thus far I have been unable to cure it.

Louisville is quite small. Nothing wonderful is found in it. The ruins of an old fort (Fort Nelson) are to be seen. They are on the bank of the Ohio, as is the town. I believe they do not at all exaggerate its unhealthiness. The city and its environs are very sickly. There are found, even in the town, low grounds filled with water, from which exhales the most dreadful stench, especially in the heat of summer. It would not, however, cost much labor to drain these marshes which give the inhab-

² Whose acquaintance I made at Fort Pitt. He had come down some time before us and arrived at the Falls without accident.

itants fevers, which, if not mortal, are long in curing. The other side of the Ohio, where I stayed for some time, where an American fort (Fort Steuben) is built and where there are 200 men in garrison, is not more healthy than Louisville, and there are few persons free from fever. This fort is in a very pretty situation. The land there is excellent and there are trees on every side.

In his record Dr. Saugrain states that he had left Pittsburg March 18 and had been attacked by the Indians March 23, was three days in the woods, and two days in the boat which picked them up. He made himself at once useful at the fort, examined some mines on Silver Creek, and analyzed a specimen which was brought to him which was supposed to contain gold, but which proved to be iron pyrites and copper. There was a lead mine fifteen miles from the post which yielded abundantly, but mixed with bismuth.

While at the fort Saugrain made a furnace and furnished the doctors fixed alkalies and amused them with electrical experiments. Salt, he states, was made in abundance in the neighborhood and sold at \$2 a bushel. From some stones which he picked up, and which were encrusted with shells, he came to the conclusion that this part of the country had once been covered by the sea, or a great lake. In this he anticipated the later demonstration of the glacial markings. Flint stones good for arrow heads and gunflints were everywhere found. Quinaucké (Kentucky), he remarks, was everywhere covered with a cane which makes a good food for cattle. Turtles, geese, turkeys, ducks, plover and quail were found immediately about the fort, but the deer had been frightened by drum and fife to a distance of several miles. It was here that he brought home some chalybeate water, and by adding it to an infusion of oak bark, made ink with which he was then writing, and which he thought would not fade. He also found a resin which he called copal, from a tree called the sweet gum. This discovery had not been made before, so in his honor they planted a specimen in the fort and called it Saugrain's tree.

From April 21 to May 3 he counted 34 boats passing down the river. May 7 a boat with fourteen rowers and eight or nine passengers arrived from Vincennes. They had been attacked

150 miles below and two of the party killed. This boat was going on to Pittsburg, and the doctor expected to go with them, but decided finally to accompany Colonel Blaine on horseback through Kentucky so as to see the country and then meet the boat at Limestown.

May 11 he set out, after expressing great regret at leaving the fort where he had received so much kindness, alone with Colonel Blaine. He comments on the fertility of the soil, the size of the trees, the bad roads, and the fact that the plantations were mostly in barley. Their first stop was Bardstown, which had several stone houses and a handsome court house, which led him to believe that the people indulged in lawsuits.

Danville he found a charming settlement, with land the best in the world. Here they were joined by two Philadelphia ladies, both pretty, and Colonel Blaine's son. A party of fifty armed men passed through Danville, and two fugitives arrived of a party of seven from Richmond who had been attacked by Indians, one killed and the rest scattered. From here they went to Lexington, crossing the Kentucky River where the banks were high and rocky. Lexington he found pleasant, with good water and less idleness than elsewhere. A pest of caterpillars had stripped the maple trees which supplied the people with sugar, which would prove a severe loss. After two days they set out for Limestown, stopping at Bourbon; even at that early day visitors to Kentucky felt something was wanting unless they became familiar with Bourbon — a practice which prevails to the present day.

They dined at Saline Bleu (Blue Lick). Here you see the extraordinary spectacle of two springs, one salt and the other fresh, within ten feet of one another. Here salt is made by evaporation, requiring 1,000 gallons to make a bushel. Reaching Limestown they found the boats already there.

May 21 they set out for Muskingum with a party of sixty-eight armed men and forty-nine unarmed, in boats laden with goods from the Indians. They passed the Big Kanawha, which is beautifully situated but very dangerous from the Indians — two white men and four Indians had been recently killed. On May 30 they reached Muskingum, which he considered occupied

the finest situation for a city he had ever seen, and ventured the prediction that it might become the largest city in America. The plan of the engineers he considered admirable. June 9 they left for Fort Pitt, where they arrived June 17, and soon left for Philadelphia with Mr. Pierce and Mr. Brason, the postmaster of Philadelphia, who had come out to establish a branch post-office. The latter had been directed by Dr. Franklin to supply Saugrain with money if he met him. They traveled on horseback and stopped over night with one James Miers, then on to Greensburg, where he was invited, he says, out of curiosity, to many houses, for the people are not hospitable. The next day, though his foot was painful and required lancing, he traveled forty miles, and the next day the same distance over the Alleghany Mountains, and passed the night in a tavern in a deep valley between two high and barren mountains. "He would die of grief living in such a place where the sun shines for two hours only."

June 10 they stopped at Chambersburg, which had many stone and brick houses. A nearby creek turned fifteen or twenty revolving mills. The industries were remarkable. Gunpowder was made in quantities and sold for 50 cents a pound. They traveled over good roads and reached Carlisle, where the United States had magazines for the manufacture of arms. This town was famous for the dissension over the new Constitution. On the way they met large wagons which carried people to Fort Pitt, from whence they took boat for Muskingum. On the way to Lancaster they crossed the Susquehanna where it is half a mile wide and four fathoms deep. Here there was a fine court house and several churches, and it was noted for the fine rifles made there. The population was mostly German.

On June 20 they reached Philadelphia and found Dr. Franklin sick, but well enough to extend an invitation to dinner, which was gladly accepted, though Dr. Saugrain was quite ill and not very presentable in the clothes he had been traveling in. The journey from Fort Pitt to Philadelphia on horseback was made in seven days, while the trip out in a cabriolet had required fourteen days. It is not known when Dr. Saugrain left Philadelphia, but we next hear of him again in 1790, when he became engaged

in the service of the Scioto Company to join a party of French settlers from Lyons and Paris, who were bound for the Ohio, and who founded Gallipolis.

This settlement furnishes one of the most picturesque and pathetic stories of the early west. The party, some 500 in number, was composed largely of high-classed French artisans who were illy fitted to cope with the hardships of the wilderness. They were "carvers and gilders to his majesty, coach and peruke makers, friseurs and other artists, and only four or five farmers." The brothers, Caudevert, were sculptors and carvers who had already attained reputation enough "to have decorated two of the most beautiful churches in Paris."

The French imagination, still under the spell of Rousseau and the *Figaro*, was fairly fired by the accounts put forth by the promoters of the Scioto Company of "the free and happy life to be led on the banks of the beautiful Scioto" untrammelled by the artificial bonds of European society. The prospectus of the company, with a map, described the attractions in glowing terms.

"A climate wholesome and delightful; frost, even in winter, almost entirely unknown; a river called by way of eminence the beautiful, and abounding in fish of vast size. Noble forests, consisting of trees that spontaneously produced sugar (sugar maple), and a plant that yields ready-made candles (*Myrica cerifera*), venison in plenty, the pursuit of which is uninterrupted by wolves, foxes, lions or tigers. No taxes to pay, no military service to be rendered." Saugrain was sought because of his knowledge of the country. He was to serve three years, to have 200 acres and a house, and support for himself and three servants. For this he was to give his medical service.

The party reached Alexandria May 1, 1790, and arrived at Gallipolis October 20. Eighty cabins and a "council and ball room" had been erected by Rufus Putnam for them. At first everything "was new, the colonist had means of support, and time passed agreeably between labor and pleasure. Woods were cleared, gardens planted, and everyone strove to make himself agreeable and useful. After a day of severe labor, dancing and singing or a social and cheerful meal succeeded." (Mrs. Mentelle, Cincinnati *Evening Chronicle*, July 14, 1827.) July 14

they celebrated the fall of the Bastile. "They had brought with them costly dresses and expensive clothing, and rare and valuable laces, articles only suitable for a gay Parisian life." One of the descendants, when quite an old woman, remembered seeing, when a girl, a barrel of silk stockings which was opened in St. Louis, where they had gone after the failure of Gallipolis, much damaged by being badly packed. The days of prosperity were not of long continuance — the company supplies stopped, there was great want, and their title to the land was found defective. Congress finally gave them 24,000 acres. "Now the ruffled shirt and the lace of the colonist were seen adorning the American hunter and mixing with the greasy hunting shirt and leggins, over which hung in laughable discordance the embroidered coat of the Frenchman, while beautiful rings shed luster on the blackened hands." "Nutmegs and spices were exchanged for eggs." Dr. Brackenbridge, in his "Recollections of the West," gives a vivid picture of Dr. Saugrain in these surroundings. He seems to have kept an inn, and in a little back room, surrounded by his blow-pipes, crucibles, chemical apparatus and electric batteries, he made aeromotors and thermometers and phosphorus matches, for all of which he found a ready sale. This work was regarded by many as uncanny and closely allied to the black art. On one of the other cabins tradition tells us of the sign "Bakery and Midwifery." Saugrain had established a reputation of inoculating for smallpox and crowds from the Kanawha Valley sought his service. On one occasion some Indians came to see him at work. The doctor placed a gold piece on a metallic plate and told the chief that he might have it if he could pick it up. He received a severe electric shock and ran howling away. The doctor, to their great astonishment, then picked it up and put it in his pocket. The great fertility of the soil, he tells us, "brought emigrants without stop, full of energy to build their first cabin. They then played in the bosom of idleness. An inhabitant of the country which is in the middle of the forest scarcely works two hours a day for his living and that of his family. He spends nearly his whole time in reposing, in hunting and in drinking. The women weave linen and make clothes for their husbands, and he has seen good linen and woolen cloth

made in the cabins. There is no silver. Whisky is bought with wheat and pork with mutton."

The Doctor married in Gallipolis, but soon left for Lexington, invited by a company that needed his knowledge in the manufacture of good bar iron, in which they had not been successful. He soon became popular. There is a tradition that while in Lexington he made for Henry Clay his first kite. He remained for six years, when, in response to an invitation of Trudeau, French governor of St. Louis, he moved there in 1800. The trip was made in a flatboat down the Ohio, and it took many days to work his way up the Mississippi. In 1805 he was appointed by Jefferson surgeon in the army and was stationed at Fort Bellefontaine, on the Missouri. In the *Missouri Gazette*, May 26, 1809, we find the following notice: "Dr. Saugrain gives notice of the first vaccine matter brought to St. Louis. Indigent persons vaccinated gratuitously." He continued to practice in St. Louis till his death, in 1820, and must have been eminently successful, for he left a large landed estate for the support of his wife and six children. Although thus busily occupied, he found time for his electrical and chemical work, and in the latter he is said to have anticipated the European inventors in the use of phosphorus for friction matches. His scientific work lives in tradition and has gained for him the title of the "First scientist of the Mississippi Valley."³

His earnestness and modesty are well illustrated by a remark which has come down to us, made one day to his daughter, who was his assistant, in the laboratory: "We are working in the dark, my child; I only know enough to know that I know nothing." Can we to-day say more or less?

And now, in taking leave of our little French doctor, I may say that I felt we might turn from the great special surgical questions which now press on us for solution, to the earlier times when the scientific knowledge of the doctor enabled him to minister to the larger and more varied needs of those about him; from the "hurlyburly" of the great city to the noises and odors of the forest, from the blaze of electric lights to the beginning of friction matches, and find some interest and profit in the career

³ Byars.

of a pioneer physician who brought with him into the wilderness the highest culture of the day, and applied in his daily round the best that science could then afford for the benefit of those he was called on to care for.

Tradition still keeps warm the memory in the great city in which we meet, and I trust that the American Surgical Association may be the means of introducing him to his proper and larger place in the profession which we represent as one of the great pioneer physicians who has stimulated development, and place him in the position which fairly belongs to him by reason of his great attainments.

Cincinnati, Ohio.



JOURNAL OF CYRUS P. BRADLEY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY GEORGE H. TWISS.

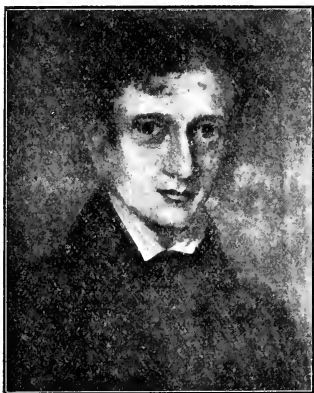
A history, in the common acceptation of the term, means a relation of facts and important dates, a chronological record of battles, sieges, revolutions, coronations and rebellions, while no account is generally looked for of the moral and mental condition of the people, whose action form the subject of the work, and an account would doubtless, if introduced, be thought irrelevant, out of place. This is not as it should be. The state of the arts and sciences, the character of its penal code, the habits and manners of the people, their religion, their advancement in morals and the gradual progress of improvement form the bone and sinew of all history — they are the talisman by which may be deduced and explained and accounted for, the secondary, resulting effects as displayed in the actions of men individually, and of nations, collectively. Bradley's Journal, Vol. 9, Sept. 16, 1835.

I write a good many letters, and I compose them as I do my Journal, with the greatest rapidity — a perfect absence of thought and care for elegance of expression or beauty of style. My first draft, however imperfect, always goes. By writing considerably for the newspapers, my journal and other light stuff, I have attained a sort of free and easy style of writing, which, when I write to a friend, an intimate, an equal, tends to make an interesting, an appropriate letter, but my acquirements, so far as regards anything of the complimentary, respectful style, which is expected from youth to age, or from one who asks a favor, are exceedingly limited. I have always been accustomed to let my feelings sway my words and actions — hence I am in danger of falling into a blunt, chatty style of writing, which may appear rude, or even offend those who are punctilious in regard to such matters. In seeking to avoid this Scylla of letter writers, there is much risk of foundering on the Charybdis of affection and absurd stiffness and humility. — This is by far the worse extreme. I can much better endure resentment than ridicule.

Bradley's Journal, Sept. 15, 1835.

The extracts from Bradley's Journal, to which this issue of the *QUARTERLY* is largely devoted, gives a graphic picture of Ohio and Michigan, their then existing social, mental and moral conditions, the potent factors of development in government and subsequent political leadership in our national affairs, in the rough, with striking portraitures of the distinguished actors in that history of seventy-one years ago when the burning issue of the hour was the disputed boundary between the two states.

The evident candor in the incisive criticisms, the clear-cut



CYRUS P. BRADLEY.

purpose to secure a faithful, just outlook from his point of view of things, gives this rapid sketch a historical value, quite beyond that of the published notes and observations of Mr. Trollope, Fanny Kemble, or even of Dickens, who later passed over a portion of the same ground. Dickens, like his illustrator Cruikshank, gave us cartoons, intended to be such, while Bradley's pen makes them living, now dead, alive to us, as actual, real and faithfully preserved as ever done by artist's brush

or tourist's camera.

His plan and method of doing his work is best explained above, in his own words. He was a reformer of the most radical type, puritanical in religious belief, zealous in humanitarian efforts for the unfortunate, convinced that capital punishment should be abolished, a hater of drunkenness and filth, hence it is not surprising that seeing pigs wallowing everywhere in the streets and gutters, gambling, drunkenness and profanity in places high and low, excited his indignation and caustic comment.

Yet, all the while, he does not fail to note with enthusiasm,

the sterling virtues, the heroic activities and the great possibilities to come out of it all in the future.

If his comparisons between his own State and this seem harsh, unjust, conceited and provincial, it may be found in reading his Journal of current affairs, in the fall of the same year at Dartmouth College, that he is no less vigorous in condemning his own home city for an occurrence that has become historic. We quote :

"Sunday, Sept. 6, 1835. At supper heard that a mob had committed outrageous insults upon the persons of Messrs. Kent, Thompson and that amiable Quaker poet Whittier in the streets of Concord, for the sin of being abolitionists. Shall forbear further comment till I learn the particulars of this disgraceful outrage.

Monday, Sept. 7, 1835. Received the N. H. Patriot. The account of the riot there given is more disgraceful than I had supposed possible.

Concord, I blush for thee! This occurrence will form no enviable spot in thy history!

Monday, Sept. 21, 1835. Mr. J. G. Whittier's account, published in a Haverhill paper, of the Concord mob, is excellent, witty. Its sarcasm touches to the quick and the Patriot and its coadjutor, in this particular, the Statesman, prove they feel it by their vociferous asservations against its truth. "He has hit them, for they flutter." The Patriot has the impudence to say of this mob and miscreants, that it was "*an assemblage* composed of as respectable people as any there is in town." The truth is, Col. Barton (the editor) is perfectly reckless, reckless of truth, of decency, of morality, of character, of reputation, of everything — a perfect desperado, and yet a coward."

If his frequent reference to personal ailments seems to detract from the interest in this sketch, they yet cannot be well spared since they bring vividly to our attention the effects of the scourge that visited Ohio that year, and the consequences resulting from it.

Neither can it fail to incite indulgence and sympathy for a young man who was encountering conditions to which he was

peculiarly susceptible and threatening to render the chief purpose of his trip fatal.

Above all, he was not shaping his work for publication,—a young man only sixteen years of age.

This Journal, No. 9, including 26 closely written pages—a sample page of which is shown by a photogravure—was commenced April 12th, 1835, and completed Oct. 6th of the same year.

This one Journal of 12 in number, incidently came into our hands through the courtesy of Miss Alice Fletcher, daughter of Arthur Fletcher, an eminent antiquariaa and biblioist, and to whom we are indebted for the preservation of this valuable historical sketch, from which we have been permitted to publish the extracts in this *QUARTERLY*.

We confess that it incited an interest to learn something of the life of the author.

We found that he has no known living relative. Fortunately there are two men living that knew him, Judge Sylvester Dana, an honored member of the distinguished Dana family, who entered College the year that Bradley returned as Junior, and Rev. Joseph M. Rockwood, who was a classmate one year, both nearly ninety years of age, and the oldest living graduates of Dartmouth College. From them, from his Journal, through Ex-Governor Rollins, College catalogues, and friends living in Concord, we have secured information of his life which can only be briefly outlined here.

Cyrus Parker Bradley was born Sept. 8, 1818, in the sparsely settled country town of Canterbury, N. H., only six miles from the birth-place of Daniel Webster. He was an only son, with one sister, endowed with an inheritance of sterling character and eminent ability by his grandfather, a man prominent in the stirring events of the American Revolution, a kind, indulgent, but improvident father, an industrious, devoted and loving mother. "Brought up," he tells us, "in the woods of Northwood, without a brother or companion, I nevertheless found company, in everything, in the birds, in the old cat, the cow, in inanimate objects, and my little cubby houses were built with joyous hands and as laughing glee as tho my labors had been shared by another.

'Society to him,
Is blithe society, who fills the air,
With gladness and involuntary song.'

Of his evenings at home, he also quotes lines from Wadsworth strangely and beautifully coincident with his own experience of the howling wind outside.

"But let him range round; he does not harm,
We build up the fire; we're snug and warm;
Untouch'd by his breath, see the candle shines bright,
And burns with a clear and steady light;
Books have we to read; hush, that half-stifled knell
Methinks 'tis the sound of the eight o'clock bell."

"Many times I have been told how ridiculous it was to come from the society of antiquarians and politicians and play ball with boys of six. But it is natural to me, infected by their mood, by my early life."

These brief touches tell the whole story of his boyhood up to twelve years of age.

Active political efforts among the rural population, in the exigencies of politics under the leadership of Isaac Hill in New Hampshire, in 1829, brought to his father an appointment as State librarian and the removal of his family to Concord. Here Cyrus finds access to books and congenial work in assisting his father. The lad's quickly acquired knowledge of the resources of the library and his methodical classification of the books, attracted the attention of the patrons of the library in the Capital City. They found him thirsting for a classical education, his father too poor to aid and no friend to assist.

The literary citizens of Concord, thereupon, united in securing for him, admission to Exeter Academy as a "charity scholar," which he entered in the fall of 1830. He completes his preparatory course in one year, enters Dartmouth College and goes through the Freshman and Sophomore course in the required two years. A breaking down in his health — but especially from lack of funds to continue — led him to decide to drop out for one year, and by teaching and literary work to endeavor to secure the means to return and complete his course.

He is given a position as a teacher in a private school in his home city. He enlists with him Moody Currier, afterwards Governor of the State, and Asa Fowler, also subsequently eminent in State affairs, in organizing a venture of a periodical to be known as the "Literary Gazette," the editorial work principally devolving on him. Actively engaging in all reform movements, delivering addresses, writing for the local papers and keeping up an active correspondence with the leading reformers, conducting historical and antiquarian investigations, he breaks down completely. At this juncture, Mr. Fletcher, a Trustee of the College, came to him with a proposition to join him in the trip outlined in the "Extracts." From his work in teaching he had barely laid aside twelve dollars. This his father, somehow, contrived to supplement with enough to make it even one hundred dollars. The good mother "with great anxiety concerning the perils of steamboats and Indians he will encounter," helps him to prepare his scrupulously clean, but scanty wardrobe, which he decides ample for him to undertake this journey.

This journey completed, he returns to college greatly improved in health and spirits, takes a front rank in his class in everything except mathematics, writes leading editorials for the "Herald of Freedom" and "Newport Argus," sends for publication historical and antiquarian matter to literary journals, undertakes and completes by the latter part of October for publication this same year, a "Biography of Hon. Isaac Hill," which Parton, in his "Life of Andrew Jackson," refers to as "the best and most authoritative life that has been written" of that leading supporter and confidential adviser of Jackson.

In connection with his regular college duties, he plunges into the study of Spanish and French, reads, comments upon and criticises their literature, races with canoes on the river, fights it out on the foot-ball grounds, nerves himself to be present at critical surgical operations by the celebrated Dr. Mussey, carefully noting the effect on the patient and diagraming the incision in detail, ransacking the fields for botanical and geological specimens and every day entering in his Journal comments on the instructors and the instruction of the day.

In his Senior year he was invited to deliver a public address

before the whole college. Concerning this address, his college-mate, Judge Dana, writes:

"The most marked event that I recollect in regard to him" (Bradley) "was the lengthy speech which he delivered without notes before the whole College and which was a masterly production, which with other achievements, established his reputation as one of the only two real geniuses connected with the college during my day."

Rev. Rockwood says: "In his lawyer-like address, he stood easily at the front in the class for intellectual endowments, scholarly taste and the power of moving public assemblies."

From all that can be gathered it is evident that he ranked in college life as the peer of three distinguished men, Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, and Salmon P. Chase, preceding him in three regular decades. The environments, experiences, struggles and limitations in early life of Webster and Bradley were the same, and educated at the same Academy and College, the biography of the life of the one could be exchanged for the other without material modification up to the date of graduation. Webster excelled perhaps in weighty mental endowments, surely in physical constitution, but Bradley outmatched him in rapier intellect, stood and worked on a higher plane of moral tone and purpose and with far greater industry and method. Bradley's career ended with graduation. What it might have been, had life continued, can only be conjectured.

He graduated in July, 1837, and returned to his home only to arrange for a surrender to his fatal disease.

"His large collection of autographs, rare and curious pamphlets, and specimens of minerals he arranged and bequeathed to the New Hampshire Historical Society." His Journals were placed in the hands of a chosen friend for preservation. Then "with an unfaltering trust he folded the drapery of his couch about him and laid down to pleasant dreams," July 6th, 1838, aged 19 years and 9 months.

To-day, one bends over a little leaning slab, brushes off the dust and scratches away the moss to decipher a name, date of birth and death and that is all. No, not all! So long as men shall struggle for freedom, plead for the weak and unfortunate, pro-

test against penal revenge and judicial manslaughter by the State, or strive for the rights of man, we shall catch echoes of his voice: wherever and whenever the people are aroused to slay a giant wrong, effective arrows will be shot over again, fashioned by Bradley's hand;—picked up from his grave.

ON THE OHIO. — HORSE BOAT.

JUNE, 1835.

1. MON. Was glad to escape from a dirty town and a dirty bed on board a steamboat. It was the Free Trader from Pittsburg, bound to St. Louis. We left Wheeling at eight o'clock, and they tell us will be at Cincinnati on Wednesday morning. How we shall get from there we do not know. It is very differently constructed from the eastern boats: the accommodations by no means so good. The engine is very different, adapted to the river. The cabin is small, only sixteen berths, gentlemen. They make their trips solely for freight. We have many tons on board, chiefly goods and merchandise which have come from New York by the way of the Erie canal, and are now approaching the Western market. All the passengers they can get in addition to this is clear gain. There were just two berths uningaged, and we of course secured them, and well we did so, for so many passengers have since come on board, who will have to sleep on couches upon the floor. The steamer Majestic, we have just heard, exploded its boiler a few days since, down the Mississippi and shockingly wounded ninety persons, many mortally. They were all deck passengers—those in the cabin escaped uninjured. The fare from Wheeling to Cincinnati is eight dollars—me half price; the distance is 363 miles—all found.

This is reasonable. As we left the town I noticed a square-built craft plying up the river, at a respectable pace, per force of a somewhat sluggish water wheel at the stern. I could perceive no other indications of a steam engine, and on inquiring learned that it was a horse-boat. A low, circular shed on deck enclose four or six horses, who turn the wheel as a horse does a turning lathe. This saves a great amount of labor, required to force up the river those barbarous built square things, which, before the introduction of steamboats, were the only means of communication on the western waters. What a vast change has been caused by this noble invention—it has been the making of this Western world. I have now before me a letter published in a newspaper in 1813, in which the writer congratulates himself upon a passage from Pittsburg to Cincinnati in only twelve days.

The singular and unique race of men who formerly navigated these boats are now nearly extinct. Some continue on the river, however. I noticed one close to the shore; the boatmen laboriously pushing it up

the stream, with their faces almost touching the footboard. I sat some time in the stern of the boat, watching the ever-varying scenery which our rapid course presented. A voyage down the Ohio probably presents a view of the finest country in the known world, and the rapid pace with which we are whisked by gives the whole an appearance of enchantment.

THE OHIO—SCENERY. FACE OF COUNTRY. FANNY KEMBLE.

The shores of the river are very precipitous, running into bluffs and cliffs, frequently to the height of 300 feet. But these banks are not sand-heaps; no—from base to summit they are covered with the deepest verdure; thick forests; gigantic trees give them an air of richness and grandeur nowhere met with but in this region. Between these bluffs and the river there is usually a strip of level land called bottoms, varying in width from a few rods to an eighth or even a quarter of a mile, and corresponding to our intervals. These bottoms have the richest soil in the world, and on them are placed the villages and habitations of the dwellers in this land. The great number and variety of verdant and richly cultivated lands add much to the beauty of the scene.

From Pittsburg to the mouth there are one hundred of respectable size, and as many tributary rivers and creeks. There cannot be imagined anything more pleasant than a steamboat voyage down a navigable river. The Ohio disappointed me in one respect—I expected to find it broader. * * * Had a lunch about an hour before dinner—good policy to blunt the appetite; our table is decently provided, that is all; river water doesn't taste so bad as it looks, though, and, after all, one must swallow his peck, and he may as well do it without grumbling. Our company is small, comparatively speaking, and I have made several pleasant acquaintances. After dinner, I went to my berth and had a good sleep. Mine is a second-story one; there being two, one over another. Each pair is furnished with a long curtain, which affords a recess for dressing, etc., and a sort of closet for our baggage under the lower berth. Wrote till I was tired. Then read the first volume of Fanny Kemble, which a gentleman lent me. I really admire the book. It displays a good deal of cleverness. There are many faults; much affectation, small talk, egotism and vanity, but I have absolutely found nothing worse, and all this is more than redeemed by her graphic descriptions. She lodged at the American Hotel in New York and at the Philadelphia; so did Mr. Bradley. She finds fault with the first and praises the last; so did Mr. Bradley. Really, I must publish *my* journal as a supplement, we agree so well—"Dear, good little me."

Became acquainted with a young officer in the army—name Allen—very sociable. He furnished me with an excellent steel pen, to take the place of my miserable quills.

MARIETTA. BLANNERHASSET ISLAND. WOODING-PLACE. JUNE.

We passed Marietta in the middle of the afternoon, situated near the mouth of the Muskingum, the oldest town, I believe, in the State.

It was settled by Gen. Rufus Putnam, John C. Symms and others, in '88. It was once the most important town in Ohio, but has not increased very fast, owing to the inundations to which it is exposed and which it has often experienced. It contains about 1,200 inhabitants, and is 82 miles from Wheeling. About 14 miles below, we passed the celebrated Blannerhasset's Island. I walked on the upper deck as we went by. It is beautiful, even for the Ohio, and studded with trees along the water's edge. It is narrow, but several miles in length. It is in a high state of cultivation and there are upon it several dwelling houses, one a very handsome one of brick.

Blannerhasset's splendid mansion is nothing but a heap of ruins; what was once the abode of beauty, taste and hospitality, is now a sad monument of the folly of human ambition. Coming down, I peeped into the place where are stowed the deck passengers. I was astonished at their number—black and white, men, women and children lolling about on the floor, the trunks, couches, etc. They carry their own supplies with them, and feast or starve as they choose. My throat being quite sore, I applied to the waiter for some ginger tea—no ginger on board. He, however, recommended stewed vinegar and the barkeeper told me to tie my stocking round my throat—both certain cures. With the greatest docility I followed both prescriptions, and retired early to my berth.

2. TUES. Slept some, and but some. Rose very early—left everybody snoring and went on the upper deck to walk. Everything was concealed by a thick fog, on which account the boat lay still about four hours last night. Passed a little town which stands in the corner between Virginia and Kentucky. Henceforth, we shall have Ohio on the right and old Kentuck on the left. When I descended into the cabin, the passengers were just crawling out of their berths and couches, looking for all the world as if they had been dragged through so many knot holes. My throat is about the same as yesterday, despite the negro and the bartender, and in the morning was very hoarse. Hearing the booming noise of the escape-steam, I ascertained that we were approaching the Kentucky shore, and, going out, discovered it was what is called a *wooding place*. These they have arranged at convenient distances along the banks, and it saves much transportation. The price is one dollar a cord. While loading the wood, I eagerly availed myself of the opportunity to press the soil of Kentucky—it being probably my only chance. Read in Maj. Downing's letters and wrote journal. Have been queried and quizzed a good deal about my book, but was prepared for that.

GREAT OHIO CANAL. CINCINNATI.

Said my negro doctor, as he cleared the table for lunch, "I do begrudge your education," and to-night, "I would steal your learning, if I could." Poor fellow—there is little opportunity for one of his color, however disposed. One characteristic of the Ohio is its numerous windings and meanderings. To-day we passed one, 17 miles round and 200 yards across. Being fatigued with writing and a hot day, I was tempted to try a glass of lemonade. Charge, a levy or ninepence—100 per cent. more than I ever before paid. Mr. Fletcher thought it best to have some washing done here. We did so, and paid at the rate of 4/6 the dozen. This is the way they extort from strangers, who can have no appeal from the decision. We passed, this afternoon, the thriving town of Portsmouth, where the Ohio canal enters the river. This connects the waters of Erie with the Mississippi, and there is a good amount of transportation upon it. The waters of the Mississippi, the Onisconsin, the Illinois, the Missouri, with all its navigable tributaries; the Arkansas, Red River, Ohio, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Wabash, the Kentucky, the Miami, the Scioto, the Kenhawa, the Alleghany and the Monongahela, all great navigable rivers, with many others of note, may be made to communicate with the canal, forming an inland navigation of above 8,000 miles. The trade and productions of this immense country, watered by these rivers, extending from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, floating from different directions and even different climates, can all concentrate at the mouth of the Ohio canal at Portsmouth. And much of it undoubtedly will. A vast amount of commission business must, in consequence, be done here. It is also well situated for the internal commerce of the State. Its growth must be rapid, to keep pace with the business which must naturally accumulate here. It now has over 1,200 inhabitants. * * *

3. WED. NOON. Have just returned from a perambulation about the streets of Cincinnati. Yes, I am actually writing in a tavern in this queen of the West. The steamboat arrived here about midnight, but I did not know it till morning.

I slept very soundly, and, having repeated my dose and application, I think my throat is somewhat, though but little, better. We took in a very large additional number of passengers at Portsmouth and Maysville, and were crowded. I was told that they were fuller yet on deck—stowed in like negroes on board a slaver. Everybody knows something about Cincinnati; how it is the largest town in the West; how it has grown up from the very beginning, within the memory of the present generation. Settlements were commenced here in 1790.

CINCINNATI, ITS STREETS, CHURCHES, BUILDINGS, ETC.

John Cleaves Symmes, one of the first settlers of the State, was the original grantee. He had been a judge in New Jersey and a member of Congress, and was the father of the noted Capt. J. C. Symmes, of Bung Hole memory. All the property in the city is held by land titles from him. The town is laid out partly low upon the bottom or first bank, and partly higher upon the second bank. The streets are, however graduated so as to render the ascent perfectly easy. We put up at the Broadway House, for they have a Broadway here, too. It is rather dirty, though the table is respectably served. A stranger labors under great disadvantages in regard to a choice of public houses—he is not always recommended to the one really preferable, and discovers his mistake only too late. I met here an old classmate of mine, Hunt, who left college the same year with myself. He has been here a few days, and left this morning for St. Louis. Have been strongly advised to go there, thence up the Illinois, across to Chicago, and round to Detroit.

Should admire it much, but time does not admit. Besides, they are expecting the cholera there soon; it is raging dreadfully down the river at Memphis, New Orleans, and Natchez.

Noticing a communication of Dr. Daniel Drake, in the *Whig* of this morning, in relation to the subject, and passing by the office I called in and rescued it from the grate for my autograph book. Called on Josiah Drake, a bookseller here, formerly of Northwood, but whose connections now live in Concord, and informed him of the welfare of his friends. He is to call at the tavern at half-past two. The streets of Cincinnati are broad, and intersect at right angles. Those from the river north are called by miscellaneous names, those running east and west are numbered—First, Second, Third, etc. Went into the Episcopal Church, a new and richly finished building, but somewhat fantastical in its style of architecture. The pews are all lined and cushioned uniformly and the doors are furnished with plates, on which are inscribed the owners' names. The paving stones used here are a novelty—they are not round, but are thin and long and are laid in strait lines across the streets and make a somewhat tasty appearance. Passed a large Roman Catholic Church—there are many professing this religion in Cincinnati. The population is of a heterogeneous character, very few, comparatively speaking, of the inhabitants being natives of this region. The buildings here are all modern in appearance; they are chiefly of brick, and some of very pale, miserable quality. They are very generally *dated*, the year of their erection being placed close to the waterspouts, near the roof. They range from 1827 to 1835—most appear to be in 1830 and 1831.

CINCINNATI SWINE. M. T. WILLIAMS, ESQ. CANAL. TROLLOPE'S.

I am told that there has been much less building here for two years last past than during the same time before, but that this season very considerable improvements will be made. Indeed, I noticed a great deal of building; where stone is used, it is freestone, of a grayish color, soft and easy to be worked, but I am told durable. Passed through one of the markets; there are several here. The inside is engrossed by the butchers; along the outside, under a portico, were ranged the vegetables—an abundance of fine, tempting strawberries. It is a hot day here—as hot as at Washington; indeed, the latitude is about the same. There is a good deal, far too much, of mud and dirt and stagnant water about the streets; if the cholera approaches, it will set them a scrubbing. Swine are here in abundance—to be expected in this vast pork market. Remembered Mrs. Trollope's amusing descriptions of her adventures with the hogs in the streets of Cincinnati. Perhaps they are not much exaggerated—for the beasts *are* impudent. They know enough to give way to a carriage, but as to a foot passenger he must always turn out; they won't budge an inch for a whole regiment, and no one wishes to come in contact with their filthiness. Presented a letter from Mr. Hill to Micajah T. Williams, Esq., president of a trust company, alias a bank, and surveyor-general of the State. He promises me letters to Michigan, also another autograph promise; but a faint one, very. I am to call again at three, and be introduced to his boys. Mr. W. was at the bank and very busy. He thinks we had better return to Portsmouth, and take the canal to Cleveland. There have been incessant rains for the last three weeks, and the roads along the state are in a horrible condition. Besides, we shall be obliged to travel in the night. I should prefer the canal, although it is doubtless tedious, but Mr. Fletchehr is for the stage coach, and I suppose I shall have to take it. P. M.—Walked down to the bank and was introduced by Mr. Williams to his two boys; likely, intelligent youths of fifteen and sixteen.

We walked up to the canal—the Miami canal—which comes up in the northerly part of the city, and here are furnished with seven locks, excellent specimens of durable workmanship. Only freight boats come up through the locks, the packets remaining below. The canal was crowded with boats. We looked in upon the celebrated Buckeye fire engine, owned and manned by lads. They are very proud of it, and it is the most effective engine in the city—the earliest on the ground. Passed Mrs. Trollope's folly—her celebrated Bazaar—which she planned and built, but failed before it was quite finished, and never paid for it. The profits of her book doubtless compensated her for her disappointment.

BAZAR. FERRYBOATS. COVINGTON. COAL. FOUNDRIES.

It is a handsome building, of a fantastical style of architecture, with a sort of a dome on the top and a cupola surmounting it. The front is Gothic, and elegant. It is divided into wine rooms, ball room, etc. I forget the name of the present occupant. Then we walked down to the river, and took passage in a steam ferryboat for the Kentucky shore. There are two of these ferryboats, square built, curiously constructed things, continually plying between Cincinnati and the opposite side of the river. The Ohio is narrow—they cross in a few minutes, turn out and take in passengers and immediately return, and so on. Price for a foot passenger, six cents; and a great many horses and carriages are transported. There is no bridge and all the communication is through these boats; they are, it is said, excellent property. The dollars must count up fast. We landed in Covington, a flourishing village, founded in 1815. Hard by, a little above it, is Newport. Both these towns make pretty appearance from opposite side of the river.

There are very many handsome houses, which stand, as it were, in tiers, on the slope of a beautiful hill. This hill rises behind the village to a great height, and the eminence is crowned with magnificent forest trees and fresh verdure. This is a fashionable resort, and the place is furnished with shady seats, at convenient distances. Here Mrs. Trollope delighted to come, and sleep and dream away the day, and hither we directed our steps. The streets of Covington are regular, and so laid out as to appear a continuation of Cincinnati. Indeed, though under a different government and different laws, it is a mere suburb of that city, and one might easily fancy that some mighty rush of waters had lately broken in and separated it from the rest. It does not appear quite so favorable on a near view as from the other shore—there are too many manufactories and too much coal smoke and coal smell, for the latter is more offensive to me than the former. Indeed, this bituminous coal is villainous stuff. It contaminates everything—air, earth, dwellings and inhabitants.

COVINGTON IRON WORKS.

We entered one of the rolling mills, an extensive, open shed, under whose roof were going on all sorts of manufacture of iron. It was indeed a curious scene. The laborers were almost in a state of nudity, their brawny limbs covered with a glowing perspiration and their blackened features and hideous, naked deformity reflected from the raging furnaces and the white-hot masses of hissing steel; combined with the curious operations they were engaged in performing, the oaths and imprecations so freely employed, and the suspicious looking instruments which they handled, gave this much the appearance of a portion of the kingdom of the Arch Fiend, populous with devils, imps and the paraphernalia of torment. I watched many of their operations with great interest. * * *

There were many very little boys employed in this horrible business, whom I pitied exceedingly. They nearly forfeited all claim to my commiseration, however, by their impudence, amusing themselves in the intervals of their occupation by throwing lumps of coal at the strangers. I suppose they knew no better. The huts of these workmen of course add little to the beauty of the village.

HAPPINESS OF HOGS.

In our way to the hill, we crossed a deep ravine or gully, which was almost literally full of mud, clayey mud, at the bottom. This was full of swine, who here presented a picture of perfect happiness, real unalloyed enjoyment. Indeed, a hog is a lucky animal. No work, no trouble, no torment, no sickness, no politics, nothing to disturb the smooth current of his imaginings—he lives on a life of pleasurable forebodings of the transmutation of things, anxious about no futurity, tormented by no knowledge of the inducement which operates upon mankind to afford him such undisturbed ease.

The monarch of Macedonia might have exclaimed, with more reason, "Were I not Alexander, I would be a hog."

But apropos of swine, it is giving them a grain too much liberty to allow of their running at large in the streets. In a morning paper I saw a notice of one of these ravenous beasts seizing a young child by the arm, tearing him from his mother's doorstep into the gutter, where, had it not been for the child's screams and the interference of a gentleman, he would inevitably have devoured it. This was a little too bold. We passed by an extensive rope walk and a spot where a college is to be built, to the foot of the hill. I was so tired we did not ascend it, but gained the blasted trunk of some fallen vegetable giant, whence we had an excellent view of the opposite shore, of Cincinnati and its environs.

STEAMBOATING.

A prominent object is the great number of steamboats constantly at the landing, arriving and departing at all times of the day, some bound for Louisville, St. Louis, Natchez, New Orleans, others for Portsmouth, Maysville, Wheeling, Pittsburg. The pale color of the brick used in the construction of the buildings gives the city a poor appearance. I am told they have no brickyards; that is the soil being everywhere clay, the builder digs his cellar and fashions the dirt therefrom into brick for the superstructure. From our log-observatory I noticed a man fishing in a way to me novel and curious. He had at some previous period sunk a long line, extending several rods, crosswise of the river, to which are attached baited hooks of different sizes, in great numbers and at small distances. He then leaves his line to take care of itself, and was now paddling along in a boat, drawing up the lines, clearing it from weeds, mud and game, and letting it drop again into the water. His luck was

not remarkable on this occasion—a sturgeon and a smaller fish were all. I am told the fish market is supplied chiefly from the Miami, the Ohio not being very productive. Returned from our jaunt, and were ferried back to Ohio about eight o'clock, having escaped the perils by water and by steam, the dangers from the coal boys and the hogs. In Covington are raised a large part of the swine which render Cincinnati so celebrated as a pork market.

MR. WILLIAMS. SLAVERY HERE. TAKEN SICK.

I drank tea at Mr. Williams', and promised to call again in the morning before I start; he is to give me letters of introduction to Col. Mack, Mayor of Detroit, and Hon. Mr. Lyon, the Michigan delegate in Congress. Mr. W. is one of the old citizens of Cincinnati, one of the canal commissioners, has been a member of both branches of the Legislature and was the unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate, beaten by Tom Ewing. He is a zealous friend of the administration, a handsome man, large, portly, and of florid complexion, about forty-five years of age. He tells me that a great many of the family servants here are slaves, hired out by their masters on the other side of the river, who receive the wages of their toil. I was shocked at the existence of this sort of slavery; there can be no more harm, no more guilt, no more shame, in purchasing human flesh outright and for life than in hiring its use for a limited time, yet is slavery forever prohibited north of the Ohio. There is something in this I do not understand; it strikes me the laws should have cognizance of the subject, but if they have, who is to administer them in behalf of the poor negro.

There are many blacks here; though compared with Baltimore or Washington, the population one meets in the street is seventy shades whiter.

Returning to my lodgings by a circuitous route, I passed near a section of the town inhabited almost solely by blacks, and called Green Town—*locus a non lucendo*, I suppose. Also visited Mrs. Trollope's celebrated Bazaar again; it should be called Madame Trollope's Folly. The good lady could not pay for it in money, so she made it up in abuse. Tired enough.

"To bed, to bed, ye sleepy head."

* * * * *

PROF. STOWE. INFLUENCE OF DRESS. LANE SEMINARY.

In the forenoon Mr. Fletcher rode out to Lane Seminary, about two miles from the city, to visit President Beacher and Prof. Stowe, with whom he is acquainted. He describes the building as of brick, not very

handsome, but surrounded by a genuine noble old forest, which they are improving to the best advantage.

P. M. Just after dinner, Prof. Stowe called on me, at my room; luckily, he found me up—just dressed. Old Snyder, as we used to call him at old Dartmouth, looks just as he used to when he superintended the extraction of Greek roots by our wise sophomores (all but bachelors now), except that he is thinner—dresses rather shabbily—an affectation of independence which I believe they have at Lane, but which I do not like; a man in authority ought to dress well, properly, because he feels better. I have seen manuscript letters of Carter to his brother, in which he advises him to heed not his dress, anything will answer to **wear**—only cultivate the mind. But he was wrong. I can study better and do anything better in a new jacket and clean shirt than with my arms out at the elbows and my outer man begrimed with dirt. I wonder whether Prof. Stowe is popular here.

He has ways about him, a stiffness, and not exactly stiffness either, a sort of tare and tret, firebrand disposition, which was continually making him hiss in hot water at Hanover. He informs me there are only forty students at Lane—it doesn't seem to thrive—they were not politic in suppressing the discussion of the slavery question among the students; this measure has given the institution a blow, from which it will be long ere it recovers. At half-past four I went on board the steamboat. I was not fit to go, so said the doctor, and so felt I, but I did not wish to stay at Cincinnati any longer. I was sorry not to be able to see Mr. Williams, agreeably to engagement, or let him know the reason I failed. The steamer was large, and much more commodious than the one we came down in, with more airy cabins. Her name is appropriate—the Velocipede. She is a new boat, this being her second trip only—the first up the river. It takes much longer to go up than down, the current of the Ohio being strong; on the Mississippi it takes twice as long. From Cincinnati to New Orleans they frequently go in eight days; they used to be months. The Velocipede was advertised to start precisely at five. She did start at eight. However, Mr. Fletcher obtained for me a berth, on first going aboard, where I lay as much at my ease as the state of my inward man and my aching bones would admit. * * *

There is one bad fault (by the way, was there ever such a thing as a *good* fault?) about this boat—she shakes dreadfully.

CINCINNATI. CHOLERA. GAMBLING AND DRUNKENNESS.

As I lay in my berth, waiting for the good-bye, I heard two gentlemen conversing about the cholera and received the pleasant intelligence that there were yesterday four cases in Maysville, Ky., all of which terminated fatally in a few hours.

That place is between this and Portsmouth, the place of our destination, and the boat stops there some time. * * *

6. SAT. We stopped this morning two hours at Maysville, landing and taking in passengers, freight, etc. Those who join us report five new cases of cholera. Some of the deaths happened in a shockingly brief period after the first attack. Yet, although surrounded in this way by disease and death, the center of our cabin supports a gambling table, around which sit four respectable looking men, with cards in their hands, oaths on their lips, cigars in their mouth, liquor on the table, and heaps of silver before them. How long would such a sight be allowed on board an eastern steamboat, even though some wretch should by any mischance find himself in such respectable company, sufficiently abandoned to all sense of shame to attempt it. Intemperance, too, that great prevailing sinking sin of the west, prevails to the same extent as though such a thing as sickness and death did not exist.

FANNY KEMBLE'S JOURNAL. ARRIVE AT PORTSMOUTH.

Almost every other face, even in what is called good society, exhibits the devotion of its owner to the mint julip, sangaree and toddy. On board the stages and boats I have found a majority of the passengers, even lads, openly and shamelessly call for their bitters before breakfast, as well as their numerous draughts during the day. As usual, our boat is crowded with passengers—how many there are in motion on these western waters. My health is better to-day.

This forenoon finished reading Fanny Kemble's Journal. This book I believe I have seen in every steamboat I have traveled in. I am really pleased with it. There are no coarse and vulgar aspersions of men and manners as in Mrs. Trollope, Col. Hamilton, Capt. Hall, et id omne genus; it is merely a lively gossiping transcript of the first novel impressions of a young, imaginative, giddy, much flattered, spoiled girl, and amid all the shoal water of nonsense and affectation there are many pithy observations, much excellent humor and very many fine descriptions and touching soliloquies. It is easy to perceive in what respect she erred and thereby drawn upon her head ridicule and malediction. It is her personalities. Every day she alludes to some individual with whom she chanced to come in contact, and sets off her allusion with some pointed remark. Now, although she gives no names, but an abundance of dashes, the person himself and a few others can but understand the references, of course are disgusted and vent their spleen upon the work and its witty author by denying them any merit. As to those cases in which she has ventured to ridicule particular customs, in almost every instance her observations are just, agree with my own preconceived opinions and, I think, must be acknowledged correct by every unprejudiced mind.

There are exceptions. Played a few games of backgammon with Mr. F.; also with a loquacious foreigner. P. M. At two o'clock arrived at Portsmouth; were immediately assailed by an officious landlord, who would insist upon giving it as his decided opinion that his house was the

best in the place. Finally went there, and obtained some dinner. As yet, I have drank no *raw* Ohio water since I left Cincinnati; when I couldn't obtain tea, I went dry.

PORTSMOUTH, OHIO. FILTH AND DRUNKENNESS.

We hope to have found a canalboat about starting, which would have taken us up to Piketon or some other pleasant inland village, where we might spend the Sabbath in quiet; but there are none going till to-morrow, so we shall probably pass Sunday here. I am sorry for it; it is a vile place, or its looks belie it.

7. SUNDAY. What a horrid hot night we had last night—the sultriness seems to increase here at night. Our tavern is internally arranged with a strained affectation of city accommodations, but externally, in its back yards and buildings, it is truly abominable. I am thoroughly disgusted with it and with the town. There are few New Englanders here, and there is nothing Yankee about the place.

The Front street, facing the river, is the business street; here every other door is a tavern or a grocery; the character of the population is that of a community of drunkards, at least that part of it which has fallen under my observation, and the whole town seems to be contaminated with it. Then, the back streets—they are nothing but lanes—and every house, whether stone, brick or wood, bear symptoms of decay. But this isn't the worse feature—the filth, the nastiness, is perfectly disgusting. The soil is hard clay, impervious to everything. Pools of stagnant water, and swine, their hides encrusted inch deep with putrefaction, infest the ways—the yard or lane under our window (private, too) is a stinking nursery of pestilence. No wonder the cholera makes dreadful havoc when it enters such a place. The wonder is, they escape so well. What a contrast between this and one of our pleasant New England villages, with its neat, painted frame houses, its pretty enclosures, flourishing farms, cleanly outhouses, its church and its school-house.

Yes, that village school-house, which a traveler meets in New England every mile of his journey and whose purpose he cannot mistake, I have seen none these 500 miles. The population is of a mixed character, and a large portion of them do not separate Sabbath from the rest of the week. This morning the *Rufus Putnam*, a handsome new boat, came gallantly down the river, on her first trip, full to the brim. Boats are continually increasing, but there is no diminution of patronage. Walked out to the canal, where it crosses the Scioto River, to see them force a canalboat across. The river is much swollen by the recent rains, and the current is very rapid. The operation of getting a boat across was well worth seeing, but hardly worth describing. There are here a Methodist, a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian Church, all small; this is not a church-going place.

PORTSMOUTH. BEAUTIFUL SCENE. CANAL AND FERRY.

The Methodists have the largest society. There were no services in the Presbyterian, so we attended at the Episcopalian. Listened to the reading of their long, formal prayers and to a very brief rhetorical flourish by way of a sermon, from Revelations 22, 17. Came home not much edified. In the afternoon had some little showers, which did the atmosphere some service. They are short and frequent in this country. Spent the afternoon in writing journal, also a letter to Concord. Took a short walk along the river. I presume I have seen more drunken men to-day than for the last six years in New England. The whole character of the place seems to be dissipation. Directly opposite Portsmouth is one of the loveliest spots I ever set my eyes upon. A rich, narrow bottom rises behind into a noble hill, which for a great height is covered with noble forest trees.

This hill, towards the top, becomes perpendicular, and you look over the tops and through crannies of the branches, against a rough, rocky precipice, apparently smooth as a wall, rising to a very considerable height and its summit crowned with trees. The proprietor of this beautiful territory has it in his power to render it one of the most enchanting spots in the world. Towards evening the captain of the canalboat, the *Indiana*, in which we proposed to voyage toward Cleveland, called at the hotel and gave us the welcome intelligence that he should leave to-night. At the appointed time we went to the spot where the canal crosses the Scioto, about a half a mile from our lodgings, having previously sent on board our baggage.

On our arrival, to our inexpressible mortification, the ferryman obstinately refused to take us across the river that night, alleging it was too late, there were not enough men, etc. The captain, a very clever, gentlemanly man, said it was of no use to try to drive him—he had too much of the mule in his composition. The Scioto is now ten feet above its usual level, and its current is very swift at this particular point. A ferry is established, and every boat is obliged to submit to the ferryman's caprices for his passage. If the canal had been carried across the river, some miles farther up, it would have saved considerable lockage and expense and been far better in other respects.

ON BOARD CANAL BOAT. OUR CABIN. OUR COMPANY.

The depot might then have been made at the other end of the town, and Portsmouth would doubtless be the gainer thereby. At present it reaps very little advantage from the canal. Freight is scarce here, a greater part of the produce of the country being carried toward Cleveland, and by the way of the Erie Canal, to the New York market. The boats come down not more than half loaded, and back again with hardly

any freight at all for the first hundred miles. They have more passengers down than up, by far, however. They have here no packet boats exclusively for passengers. The forward part of the boat is the gentlemen's cabin, about 10 feet by 12; next, the ladies' cabin, about 10 by 5; then the main part of the boat for the freight, where are also stowed the midship passengers; then, in the after part of the boat, the dining room, perhaps 10 feet square, with a kitchen closet adjoining. Had we started to-night, we should have been five and twenty miles on our journey; as it was, we submitted with the best grace we could, although our mortification was proportioned in extent to the joy we experienced when we first learned our intended departure. The maid of all work, a very decent looking woman, soon transformed the cushioned seats into respectable couches, and we prepared for bed, preferring this little airy cabin to our confined stinking hole in the inn. * * *

8. MONDAY. Slept middling. Rose very early, walked round near to the river, returned, then walked into town and back again.

Several steamboats arrived last night and this morning, and brought several more passengers, so that we are sufficiently crowded for all good purposes. Indeed, I began to suspect that the captain, having no freight, was not particularly anxious to cast off last night, but was willing to add to the number of his passengers. This little cabin, in which I am at this moment writing, would have been a fine, comfortable room, did we have it all to ourselves.

LOCKS. WANT OF BRIDGES. COUNTRY ON THE CANAL.

One of the company is the Rev. Mr. Potter, the clergyman who officiated yesterday at the Episcopal Church. While at breakfast, the ferryman got us under way and across the dreadful passage—could have been done just as well last evening. Our breakfast was plain enough, a piece of bacon, a piece of mackerel, both salt as the Atlantic, baker's bread and butter. We have, however, one luxury—decent spring water. Close to Portsmouth are a number of locks, and we were a long time getting fairly started. At one place we had to go ashore and assist them in opening the gate. This kind of traveling is undoubtedly pleasant enough for a short time, when one doesn't feel in a hurry, so as to be impatient at the delay of the plaguey locks. There are a great many of them on this canal in its whole extent—no long levels, as in the great New Yorker. They go very slow, advancing about sixty miles a day. Were the roads decent, we should have tried the stage, but they are horrible. The mail has been due many hours at Portsmouth, but cannot cross Beaver Creek. Why? exclaims a New Englander. Because, friend, they have no bridges in the south and west over fordable streams, and this fact explains what I have wondered at—newspaper notices of the failures of mails because they cannot cross such and such a stream, or creek, as they call them here. It is now about ten o'clock. We have

passed five locks, and have advanced perhaps a dozen miles. The sun is not oppressive and the deck is a pleasant spot.

On one side of us is the exceedingly fertile bottom—the Scioto by a short distance beyond—and the canal defended from extraordinary freshes by a high embankment, or levy, as they call it. On this bottom are many well cultivated spots, Indian corn in abundance and well advanced, they must reap a heavy crop. On the left hand is an occasional settlement; rich land in much of its extent, richly wooded. The beautiful sycamore is a prominent tree. The banks are covered with wild camomile, cotton-wood shrubs and other bushes I know not of. Freestone is quarried in this neighborhood to a great extent, and is used for every purpose to which stone is applied.

They speak highly of its durability, etc., but they have never known New Hampshire granite. Establishments for working it are frequent; they cut it into blocks, gravestones, etc., the canal locks are made of it. Iron is found in this region in abundance and is extensively worked. Several mills are in operation near Portsmouth. A wealthy man, concerned in this manufacture, died a short time since, and, agreeably to his injunction, was enclosed in an air-tight, cast-iron coffin and placed near his house, on the surface of the ground, to remain there forever. We frequently pass under bridges, over which crosses the road, and which are built so low as to drive us from our stations on deck or oblige us to stretch ourselves out on its surface. Horrid work, this traveling is, for one's clothing.

DUTCHMEN. SLAVES. COLONIZATION SCHEME.

We have one midship passenger on board, who amuses me exceedingly. He is a genuine old Dutchman, and is on his way to Europe, the only real specimen of the Knickerbocker I have seen. He carries continually in his mouth a long Dutch pipe, and is very sociable, but it would puzzle Dr. Percival with his twenty different languages to understand his lingo. I was just now in the midships, to open my trunk, and found him perched on the baggage, munching his bread, cheese and bacon with great gusto, washing down his mouthfuls occasionally by a resort to his cup and sweetening them ever and anon by a whiff at his inseparable companion, the long-handle pipe. But I have written enough; I'll go on deck again. The gentleman whom I took to be Rev. Mr. Potter, is, in fact, a resident of Mississippi; he is a strong colonizationist; not, he says, because the society can bona fide transport by their own exertions all the blacks in the country, or even one-third of the increase, but their efforts will demonstrate the feasibility of the plan, the practicability of establishing a colony where the negroes shall enjoy their political rights. In Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, etc., the slaves are unprofitable; in the sugar and cotton countries, far otherwise. The consequence will be slavery will cease in those states, the

slaveholders either selling them to the South or taking them with them, where they can be made profitable. This will confine slavery to a small portion of the country, and that portion will be so much overstocked as to reduce the value of the property. Then, the masters will combine to colonize the unprofitable portion of them, and the rest—something will be done with them. This was the whole amount of his reasoning. He informs me that the value of this species of property in Mississippi is enormous, that every negro, or boy as they call them, will cultivate ten acres of cotton, and that the revenue of many of the planters exceeds \$50,000 a year.

FERTILITY OF SOIL. IGNORANCE OF INHABITANTS. HUTS.

The soil on the bottom is remarkably fertile, and the climate is good, particularly for those predisposed to pulmonary disorders. He advises me to go there, says there is a great demand for private tutors among the planters, and that such situations are exceedingly pleasant. It is now four o'clock, the country we have passed through is somewhat diversified and uninteresting, but preserving a uniform character. On the right, highly fertile and generally cultivated bottoms separate the canal from the Scioto, which sometimes, however, approaches close to the towpath.

On these bottoms corn is raised fifty years in succession, with no other manure than the annual sediment which the river deposits.

Such land is worth about thirty dollars the acre. Occasionally we pass a log hut or two, sometimes situated on a road, frequently surrounded only by rocks and stumps, but all alike in one particular—the abundance of little tow-heads which lay sunning about the door.

At one of these houses, where is a fine spring and where the boat stopped for water, we landed and obtained a glass of milk, or rather a dipper of milk. We asked the woman what was the name of the township or the county in which she lived. She giggled, hardly seemed to understand the question, but at length replied that it was “an out-in-the-woods place, she reckoned.” That was all the name she knew, and that was enough for her purposes. But these children, they are growing up in ignorance, perfect darkness, intellectually. They seem to have in the West no New England pride about their houses; all the scattered build-ings on the great national road and in this region are built of rough logs, notched at the ends, and the best of them, with the interstices filled with mud, sticks and stones and their roofs shingled or thatched. We have this day passed no villages.

Many of the houses are embellished with the trophies of the hunter—the hides and horns of the deer, etc. Deer and wild turkeys are abundant here, sheltered by the thick forests which crown the swells, and which afford a refuge for thousands of warblers whose notes generally sounded strange in my ear. Taking my station on the prow of the boat, I have sat for hours watching the ever varying scene and listening to their changing notes.

ILLINOIS SPECULATIONS. CHICAGO. ALTON, ETC.

Very often, the canal widens and forms reservoirs at convenient places. Frequently pools of stagnant water are formed near, carrion often floats on the surface, miasmata are generated, all which must render a residence near the bank unhealthy. It is in fact a nursery of fever and ague. Yet fish live in considerable abundance in this water; doubtless the poor creatures are subject to bilious complaints. Water snakes, huge, vile looking monsters are frequently seen on the shore, basking in the sun. One of our fellow-passengers made a good hit at one with a pole. We passed a high, shed-like looking building, rising like a shattered light-house, under which some unsuccessful experimenter had been boring for salt, which is found in abundance in many parts of the state and in this neighborhood. Everybody is advising me to travel farther West, if I wish to see a full display of the energies of the country. We have an Illinois man aboard, who speaks with rapture of the extensive and fertile prairies of his adopted state.

There the corn grows from 12 to 20 feet in height, and in the valley of the Kaskaskia it yields 100 bushels an acre, with no other care than the labor of ploughing.

Chicago is doubtless going to be one of the greatset places in the country, a vast city; at present, an excellent place for emigration. Alton is a promising place; it is the general opinion that it will become a great city, on account of its situation, being so near the confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi. It will be the great depot of the productions of the Missouri valley.

Many think, however, it can never increase, against the influence of its overgrown rival, St. Louis, which has such a start of it. There are also natural disadvantages. The shore is precipitous, and there is no place to put their buildings except in the ravines. They have an excellent landing, and in case the Missouri trade should be turned to Chicago and New York it must be a great place. There is another location, which Ohio folks think is destined for a thriving settlement and vast city—the Maumee country, on the disputed territory—with Michigan. By the way, Governor Lucas' extra session of the Legislature meets to-day at Columbus to blow the Michiganders sky high. But as to the Maumee country, our Illinois man says there is one insuperable objection to its advancement—the citizens must be manufactured and raised on the spot—emigrants cannot live there.

BRUTE OF A DRIVER. SCENES ON THE CANAL.

If that is the case, it is not a possession worth a harder war than that of words and of ink. I am told the notion that the Catholics are gaining possession of this western country is all nonsense, that there are none but foreigners; no priests or churches except in a few large cities,

and they make no converts. For want of any other book, I read to-day that old but universally popular story, the "Vicar of Wakefield," which I found on board. I had read it two or three times before, but several years since, and it interested me much.

We are just stopping at a lock, having traversed since the last one, a level of ten miles, in just three hours, wanting ten minutes.

Part of the way we had a brutal driver, who, in spite of our remonstrances, would insist upon making it his amusement to torment with his long lash the forward horse, a noble animal, though under such management, of course a little restive. We are drawn by two horses, tandem, who are changed about once in twelve or fourteen miles. They seldom trot. The hind horse is ridden by the driver, generally a youth, and a rough, hardy, tough-swearing, nondescript animal, totally independent of the captain, who has no control over him or his horses. This one, after exercising his little, brief authority over the poor beast till he had almost worried the animal to death, turned upon every luckless sheep or pig, who trusting to his tender mercies, might remain within reach of his whip. At length, we were all excessively delighted to see an old bellweather carry off, at a sudden jerk, wound round his neck, the cruel lash, which was not recovered till after a hearty race on the part of the boy and a hearty laugh on the part of the passengers. Towards evening in company with most of the passengers, went ashore at one of the locks and walked to the next one, about a mile, where we waited for the boat. Here about a dozen Irishmen were at work digging and filling up an excavation, which the water had worn around the gate. Two old canalboats, their dwelling house, were moored near. Noticing rather an inviting room in one of them, I went, in company with another, and entered it, making an errand for a glass of water. An Irish girl, very comely and neat in her appearance, was busily engaged in baking two tempting loaves of bread in a commodious cookstove. Everything had an air of cleanliness and comfort which one would hardly expect to find in such a place.

MOUND. CHILLICOTHE. BUILDINGS. DUTCH.

The bank here was covered with horehound, boneset and camomile, all growing wild and luxuriating in great abundance. Take it all in all, we have had a very pleasant time — a good company and good weather — it having been hazy and occasionally a slight sprinkle; in this way we were enabled to avoid the heat which, at this season, is generally exceedingly troublesome on the canal. Had a very respectable dinner, too. Towards evening, wrote journal. Passed a large, conical mound, as steep as the earth could be made to lie, like a section of an egg. It had no appearance of having been opened.

9. TUES. Our little cabin was fitted most ingeniously with berths, for ten persons, but so contracted were the limits appropriated for each

that he could only draw himself onto his shelf lengthwise and there lie, without stirring for fear of a fall or a broken head. We did not wish the windows open on account of the unhealthy miasms from the canal, and of course were uncomfortably hot. I had a good nap, on first crawling in, and a late one in the morning; the body of the night I lay and chewed the cud of reflection with about as much elbow room as a man might find in his coffin.

Awoke. Looked out of my window upon a block of stores, which it seemed I could almost touch. I jumped out upon the floor, all dressed, and found myself, with one exception, the last of the Mohicans. We were in Chillicothe, the ancient seat of government of the Ohio, and the canal runs directly through it and is lined on either side with shops and stores. Took a long walk round the town, and am much pleased with it, but there is displayed much of the same negligence in building and the outskirts are filthy. In fact, all the towns in this State are defiled by swine. The streets have the smell and appearance of a pig-yard. Some of the streets are broad, and furnished with handsome brick blocks and convenient public houses; are high, pleasant and airy. There are many old looking, small frame houses, however, and some log huts. Their houses are put together in such a slovenly manner in the West that twenty years are amply sufficient to clothe them in a garb of antiquity. A long rope-walk at one extremity of the town I noticed converted into a block of dwellings. Here live the Dutch, of which there are a great many here, as happy as kings. The churches here look no more than respectable, for so large a place, hardly that. Business, which had been declining, has received a new start in this place, from the grand canal.

CHILLICOTHE. THE WORD "TOWNSHIP." TAKE A HACK.

Chillicothe is situated on the Scioto River, in Scioto Township, for it is to be understood that in Ohio a town is what we call a village, while what we call a town is here called a township and the village or town has very seldom the same name with the township in which it is situated. Then again the word township has two distinct meanings. The whole county is surveyed into districts of six miles square, called townships, or, for the sake of distinctin, land townships, but they do not often correspond to the civil township or government, which sometimes includes parts of two or three, sometimes not a whole one, as suits the convenience of the inhabitants.

This, together with the fact that there are some dozens of townships of the same name in different counties, such as Hancock, Jefferson, etc., creates among strangers and inhabitants great confusion.

The townships are surveyed and named by the county commissioners, who are independent of each other and of course often pitch upon the same name. Chillicothe is situated on the western border of a vast alluvial plain, and in its site and plan somewhat resembles Philadel-

phia, the Scioto and Paint Creek corresponding to the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers. At this place our captain, having a load to take in, and there being no prospect of getting off before noon, we concluded to leave him and trust ourselves to the mercy of Providence and the roads for a swifter, if not a safer, conveyance. The stage having left at two o'clock, we chartered a hack, with two seats and four horses, and put off about eight. There were four of us, all old friends; that is, we had been thrown together in the same canalboat for twenty-four hours, and he must have an abundance of sourkrout in his composition who does not get acquainted with his shipmates under such circumstances. The road we passed through from Chillicothe to Circleville was indeed poor, but the country was splendid.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS PRODUCTIONS, ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE.

One extent of rich, fertile bottom, and such glorious farms, 'twould make a New Englander farmer's mouth water to see them. They raise a vast quantity of beef and pork of the finest quality in this region. They mow comparatively very little hay and raise no potatoes for their stock, barely enough for culinary purposes. Their grass is timothy and clover, no other kinds. Their pastures—we saw many head of cattle in them which would at this moment yield a heavier swath than many fields, when mowed, in New Hampshire. Wheat is raised in very considerable quantities, and looks beautifully; their harvest time is usually the last of June; they will have a great crop, though I see by the papers a very poor one in Virginia and Maryland. But the chief production of the soil is the Indian corn. Fields are not uncommon containing some hundreds and even thousands of acres in one unbroken extent, which will yield from fifty to seventy bushels per acre. They have no labor of manuring; in the spring, one ploughs, another drops after him and another covers; they put from four to six corns to the hill. Twice or thrice a year they plough between the rows, with a single horse and what they call a shovel plough, a mere light spade fixed to a plough-shaft or frame. The ear has twelve rows, is short and thick. If it be asked what they do with these great crops of corn, I answer they fatten their stock on them instead of hay, conceiving it more profitable. Their cattle are all raised for market on corn, and their swine consume a great deal also. They have a way, too, of fattening their hogs in clover; immense droves of them are seen on either side, rioting in the richest clover fields, their flanks almost concealed in the verdure and blossoms. They find this exceedingly profitable, pork in the fall of the year commanding a great price. "As happy as pigs in clover" is a proverb which we here find illustrated. They have an unfortunate breed of swine in Ohio, thin-sided things, and all black or speckled. Their hams seldom weigh more than eight or ten pounds. I have heard this much lamented, but it is difficult to remedy the evil. They have fine orchards here, and a prospect of an

abundant supply of fruit the present season. Peaches will not flourish, apples and pears abound. Last year, as in New England, there was no fruit at all. A great part of these fertile plains is still covered with the primeval forests. When a clearing is commenced, they burn out the underbrush, girdle the great monsters and leave them gradually to decay and fall. Many cultivated farms are covered in this way with naked shafts, with their larger branches scattered hither and thither, many scathed with the thunderbolt and all bearing the marks of hard usage, looking like the ghosts of the ancient forests, the seared monuments of aboriginal grandeur. They make a melancholy appearance amid the surrounding cultivation and remind one of the old warrior, sitting among the ruins of ancient Carthage.

FOREST TREES. BUCKEYE. POISON VINE, ETC.

The woods are nearly all strangers to me. Among the principal are the burr oak, a noble, enduring tree; the sycamore, which frequently attains an enormous circumference; the black and white walnut and the numerous varieties of hickory. The latter has a shag bark, and resembles in fruit also our walnut; the white walnut is similar to our butternut or oilnut. The sugar tree is a handsome tree; sugar orchards are frequent, and the fine molasses from them is found on every table d'hôte. They have the sugar maple, but not in abundance; the ash and white oak, as with us, but no pines or cedar. The black locust attains a great size and is a handsome tree, but in beauty is exceeded by the honeylocust, which bears a long pod, filled with such wild honey as John the Baptist lived upon in the wilderness. Both these species of acacia are common here. The papaw is a small-sized tree, and bears a beautiful leaf. It also produces a fruit half as large as a cocoa nut, soft, pulpy and sickish-sweet to the palate of a stranger. The natives love it, but there is no animal, not even the hog, that will touch it, except the o'possum, another instance of the omnivorous nature of the human species.

We were shown many specimens of the buckeye, the shrub or tree from which the inhabitants of Ohio derive their national soubriquet.

It bears a round nut, which is covered with an outer rind or shell, and on whose surface appears a white, circular spot, like the pupil of the eye. Cattle are very fond of it and eat it whenever they can obtain access to it, but it is extremely poisonous and unless relief be speedily procured invariably produces death. Grape vines are plenty, but the fruit is small and sour; sassafras trees I saw as large as a man's thigh. There is also a vine, which grows at the base to an enormous size and which often includes in its parasitical embrace the tops of a whole grove of noble trees, many of whom die under the weight of its branches and from its noxious qualities. Our cicerone, an intelligent farmer, one of the original settlers of this region, knew no other name for it than the poison vine. It much resembled, except in its larger size, a vine that

flourishes between Exeter and Newmarket, and which we used to call Jacob's Ladder. These are the principal trees of the native growth of the Scioto valley. To make the catalogue complete, the elm should be added.

PICKAWAY PLAINS. SLOVENLY MANNER OF BUILDING.

Pickaway county, through which we passed, is one of the best for farming in the State. There is the woodland for timber, the barren for pastures, the plain for wheat, yielding forty-five bushels the acre, and the prairies for corn and grass. We passed through the whole extent of the celebrated Pickaway Plains, the best wheat ground in the western country. Our farmer described with great enthusiasm the appearance of these plains, when he first pitched his tent upon its borders. A natural plain of from three to seven miles in extent, covered with a low, wild plum, producing a luscious fruit, and without a single tree in its whole extent to obstruct the view.

I could see a deer, said he, for miles. There are now houses and clumps of trees, introduced since its settlement, and of considerable size. Many of the farmers of this fine country are not the owners of the soil, but pay a rent of one-half the produce. Reckoned in money, they call their corn worth from 12 to 15 cents per bushel. We passed through Jefferson, a small *town* in the *township* of Pickaway, and forming the seat of justice of the *county* of Pickaway. It is now all in ruins, their decline entirely brought about by intemperance and dissipation, for which it was long notorious.

The dilapidated state of the houses is truly deplorable. "Somehow," said the drunken landlord of a tottering tavern, "the people seem to have all moved off to Circleville." Their frame houses here, when they build such, are poor things; the clapboards are nailed directly upon the studs, they are wider and thicker than ours and of the same thickness throughout, of course one edge only touches the studs or uprights and must be weak. Hence, without constant repairing, and that is not bestowed upon them, they fall to pieces like a child's cob-house. Their shingles, if shingles they can be called, are slips of thin board, about twenty inches long, six wide and three-quarters thick and lap over each other lengthwise, both of the shingle and the building, about ten inches or half the whole length of each tier being covered by the next. Then there are two layers of thicknesses of these, the outside one sloping the other way from the inner, and this is all the boarding they have on their roof, the shingles being nailed directly upon the rafters, which are placed ten inches apart. But most of the farmer's houses are meaner still, built of logs, with the crannies sometimes plastered with mud.

The chimney is placed outside the building, is sometimes all of brick; in other cases the upper part is of staves, laid precisely like a cob-house. These chimneys often lean at an awful angle from the build-

ing, and assist in giving the whole an appearance of reeling and drunkenness, with which the occupants too often coincide. Many wealthy farmers, who are worth fifty thousand dollars and who both occupy and rent vast tracts of rich and profitable territory, are content to live and die without comfort and without self-respect in these wretched hovels.

CIRCLEVILLE. IGNORANCE OF BARKEEPER. ANCIENT.

We took dinner at Circleville. While it was preparing, we asked the barkeeper in what direction were those relics of antiquity which have rendered this place so celebrated. He pointed to a mound opposite, and, in spite of all my doubts, assured us it was all. We visited it; it is high and gradual in its ascent, and has been half carried away for gravel. I picked up half of an Indian tomahawk, much worn, however. There are indications of animal matter; a black, strong-smelling mould visible in the excavations, the remains of human bodies. It is supposed that this mound is in part natural, as there appears to be two sorts of earth employed in its formation. When the town was settled it was covered with trees. As I knew the barkeeper's story could not be correct, we made further inquiries, and were soon directed to the ancient fortifications. This fellow could not help seeing the mound, which is situated directly before his nose, and that was as far as he ever troubled himself to learn about them, a striking example of the want of curiosity observable in relation to objects in our immediate vicinity. The principal fort is an exact circle, and includes a great part of the village, which has received from it its name, and which has several circular streets, corresponding to the fort. The circle is one mile in circumference and consists of two parallel walls, the tops about three rods asunder and the inner one forty-seven rods in diameter. Between these walls is a fosse or ditch, sufficiently large and no more so to have afforded earth enough for the exterior wall, and this wall is in fact composed of gravel, the soil of the adjacent country. But the materials of the inner wall were evidently brought from a great distance. It is composed of clay, which is nowhere else found in the whole neighborhood, and has between it and the ditch a level footpath about four feet wide.

FORTIFICATIONS OF CIRCLEVILLE. PLAN.

At the east side of the circle is another fort, a perfect square, whose sides exactly face the four cardinal points of the compass and whose western side is a tangent to the circle, geometrically speaking; that is, just touches the exterior wall and becomes incorporated with it at one point.

At this spot is the only gateway or opening into the circular fort; that is, the circle had no opening, except into the square, but the square has, including this, eight different avenues, one at each corner and one

at the center of each side. These avenues are about 12 feet wide and the wall rises to its usual height, which is about 20 feet. The square may be 40 feet each way, or about as large, I think it is exactly, as to set into the circle. We noticed many vast stumps remaining on the summit, and the trees found here at the settlement of the town in 1810, both standing and prostrate, no way differed from those in the surrounding forest. It is easy to imagine what a vast alteration such a period of time must have produced in the external appearance of these works, what a filling up of the ditch and a reduction of the height of the wall. The square fort has only a single wall, which appears higher in the inside than on the exterior face, as though the dirt was taken from the interior. As it at present appears, the bank is about twenty feet in breadth at its base. But time is not the worst enemy these venerable ruins of an unknown age have encountered. The ruthless hand of man, in twenty short years, has done more to blot them from existence than the old destroyer in twice as many centuries. Our descendants of the second generation will know nought of them, except from description. About one-half of the circle has been leveled and the ditch filled, and the ground covered with streets and buildings. The interior wall, too, is of clay and all the brick in the place is manufactured from it; the present generation making use of the labor of transportation of a people whose name is not known.

This clay will shortly be all used up for this purpose and one wall demolished. The square, being farther from the village, has escaped far better—in many parts as perfect as when the eye of civilized man first rested upon its proportions. A road cuts through at one side of it and a few negroes have the honor of dwelling in that area, which doubtless once resounded with the measured tread of disciplined armies, the pomp and circumstance of war. At a little distance south is a very steep and high cemetery or mound, which has never been opened, but is yearly ploughed and cultivated. A very large one, which stood in the center of Chillicothe, and which had for forty years been spared, was a short time since removed and its site sold for house lots. This destruction of these interesting relics for the sake of lucre will surely be regretted at some future period. The relics which have been found at Circleville have been numerous. This town itself is very pretty, well situated, and were it not for the swine would look and *smell* like a New England village. There are 1,500 inhabitants, some handsome buildings, and extensive warehouses on the canal.

SYCAMORES. BAD ROAD. LOSE MY HEAD-PIECE. COLUMBUS.

We left at two o'clock; it was a sultry day, and our poor horses, for we had no change, were very tired. The road grew worse and for six miles was absolutely abominable. It lay through a dense, murky, damp forest, abounding in water, mud, moss and mosquitoes. There were some

of the largest sycamores I have yet seen, many were eight feet in diameter. The wheels sunk several inches into the black mud, and at some spots the prospect was absolutely deplorable. However, we worked along, though at a snail's pace. They might do better did they work their road property, but their road tax system is both foolish and unjust in the extreme. Every citizen, rich or poor alike, is obliged to give two days' work. We passed the town of Bloomfield, a little village with about 150 inhabitants and—a market house!

Every little squad of buildings apes the city in this respect. Now for a specimen of my luck. After dark, being tired and sleepy and having a seat to myself, I wrapped myself up in my cloak, stretched myself out and went to sleep. I awoke a few miles below Columbus, and came fully to my senses in about half an hour, when it occurred to me that I was bareheaded. My cap had worked off and out of the window. It was an excellent light broadcloth cap, which my father bought in Boston just before I started on purpose for the journey and which I much admired. But it was past all redemption and I very philosophically tied my head up in my handkerchief and resigned myself to circumstances. Should I lose my head off before I get home again, I am resolved to endure the infliction with becoming fortitude. We arrived at Columbus between nine and ten; could not get admitted at the first tavern, and where we were received, found the house overflowing with the crowds of legislators and strangers, whom the exciting question of the northern boundary dispute has brought together.

COLUMBUS. STATE HOUSE. DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM.

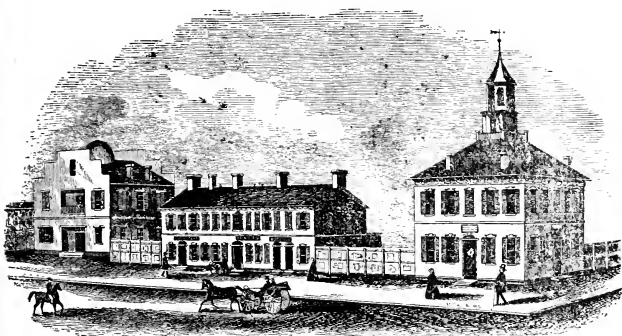
10 *Wed.* Were lodged in a temporary bed in the gentlemen's public sitting room. Should complain of the accommodations, if I thought they could do better. Read Gov. Lucas' message with a portion of the voluminous documents annexed, and tried to obtain one for preservation, but without success—a few only have been printed as yet, and they are not to be obtained. There is great excitement in relation to the subject, but we are disappointed in our expectations of hearing any specimens of Buckeye eloquence, as the whole matter is in the hands of a committee and the legislature hold sessions only of half an hour a day, waiting for the report. It will then be handled pretty decisively, and I should judge from what I can gather, that the majority are for bold measures. I went over the capitol. It is a small, square, temporary, brick building, with two entrances, and surmounted with a patriotic extract from Barlow—a thing which struck me as in bad taste—a few energetic words might have answered—but twenty or thirty lines make an undignified appearance.

They will, however, ere long, erect a building more consonant with the wealth and power of the state. The Representative Hall occupies the ground floor and the outer doors open directly into it, a situation very

unsuitable for silence, deliberation or convenience. The floor is well carpeted, the members, seventy-two in number, have moveable desks, and a little more elbow room than our poor fellows in New Hampshire, although in so small a room. The speaker's chair is a perfect pulpit. The senate chamber is above and similar, the number half as great as in the other branch. Near the State House is a long building, containing the public offices and state library, and directly beyond is the court house, surmounted with a handsome dome. The State House has a church-like steeple with a small bell.

These buildings form one side of Capitol square, a public reservation, containing ten acres of fine clover, in which were rioting at pleasure somebody's pigs, perhaps the State's. We walked towards the Deaf and Dumb

STATE BUILDINGS IN 1835.



U. S. Court House

Public Offices.

Old State House.

Asylum, recently established and situated at the eastern extremity of the town, about three-fourths of a mile from the square. A man we met pointed to us the road which led to the "dumb school," as he called it. It is a plain looking, three story brick building, situated in a large green or square, with gardens in the rear. The front has pillars and steps of their miserable freestone, soft, crumbling and streaked with iron rust. We were met at the door, having clambered over a zigzag by a crazy stile; (they will have a paling this season), by the principal of the institution, Mr. Hubbell, a good natured, fat, frank man, careless in dress and manners, and whom we both at first supposed to be a steward or doorkeeper. We conversed a while in the sitting room till recitation hours and then went to the school rooms.

DEAF AND DUMB. MR. CUSHING. BUCKEYE LEGISLATORS.

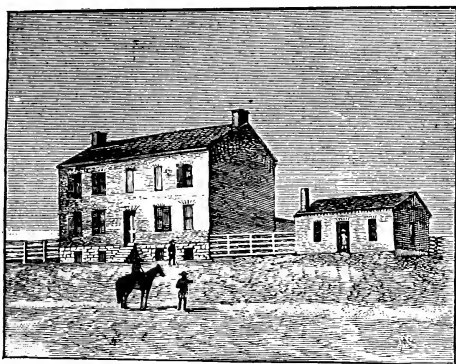
There are 40 pupils, 17 of them females, and from 10 to 30 years of age. At twelve or fourteen, they are most susceptible of improvement. There appeared to be few younger than 14. They have four schools, or rather classes, and as many teachers, Mr. Hubbell and three assistants, two of them mutes and graduates of the Hartford Asylum. The other is a son of Hon. Senator Morris. They had been classmates of the fellow who was committed, for a rape at Concord last summer, to prison for life, and expressed great interest in the circumstance. They said he was a bad fellow at Hartford.

We visited each room and watched the operations of the classes. They did exceedingly well, many, particularly among the females, appearing very intelligent. We were introduced to the teachers and held conversation with them on the state. One in particular was a fine looking fellow, young, active, well shaped, handsome, with a noble, intellectual forehead and remarkably quick with the pencil. Mr. F. obtained from him a promise to correspond with him. Became acquainted with one of the Representatives, Mr. Cushing, a man of considerable talent, but who bears, in common with a large proportion of the members, upon his person, indications of loose and dissipated habits. One man, Mr. R—, formerly a member of congress, and one of the most talented men in Ohio, but who latterly made himself a brute; was elected for this session to fill a vacancy. Not having been drunk for a fortnight, he was nominated to encourage him in his good resolutions, and succeeded in opposition to an exceedingly popular man, Ex-Governor ——. No sooner elected than he got himself dead drunk, and has been intoxicated ever since he has been here. To-day he reeled into the house and undertook to say something, but was pulled down by his friends. There is a carelessness of manner, a levity of appearance, an unfitness of expressions, a profanity in common conversation, in short a conduct, both in and out of the House, which a New Englander can hardly consider proper in legislators. With Mr. Cushing we visited the new penitentiary.

OHIO PENITENTIARY. MARBLE AND PETRIFACTIONS.

This building is truly a noble structure, an ornament to the city and an honor to the state, and when completed will probably be second to none in the country. The centre and one wing are complete, the rest in a state of forwardness, the prisoners being busily engaged in preparing their own accommodations. It seems almost a refinement of punishment to oblige a man to build his own dungeon. The area enclosed is about twenty acres, the building of hammered freestone, the centre of four stories and the wings three. It is on the plan of the Auburn prison and like the new one in New Hampshire, the wings enclosing an interior building of five stories of cells, each cell measuring seven feet by three

and one-half, and seven feet high. The centre is for the warden's dwelling, and in the rear is the guard room, from whence can be seen the whole extent of the several corridors leading round the cells. There will be cells for 700 convicts, at present there are 208, and many blacks. The female prison is to be a separate building. The whole is well ventilated, and the discipline is excellent. The warden is a New England man—I have forgotten his name. Much praise is due to the Prison Discipline Society for the general diffusion of enlarged ideas and correct information on a subject so intimately connected with the welfare, safety and moral character of the community. The people at large are becoming satisfied of the fact that the old method of building and of governing prisons was unwise and calculated not to tame the tiger, but to cage up for a while



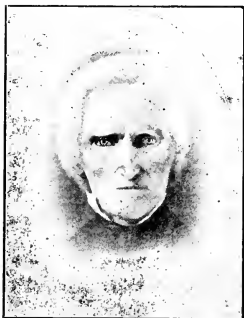
OLD PENITENTIARY IN 1835.

the enraged beast, to again let him loose upon the community, sevenfold more the child of the devil than at first. The old penitentiary at Columbus was a sink of corruption, a nuisance to the community, an expense to the state, a hotbed of villany. Insurrections were frequent, no subordination, no obedience. We visited the several manufacturies as yet in operation. About half the convicts have been farmed out to an enterprising firm in New York, for the manufacture of saddle-trees, harness, furniture, etc. At the hospital, we found many sick, of the scurvy. The physician is himself a convict, and an acquaintance of Mr. Cushing. He was a man of liberal education, profound learning and extensive practice, but was tempted to embark in forgery of pension certificates, for which he is now obliged to associate with rascals of every grade—himself as bad. The justice of the peace, his partner in the business, and its penalty, was

pointed out to me. In the stone shop, I was shown specimens of a species of marble, found in this region, which receives a most elegant polish and makes beautiful ornaments and mantle-pieces. It is full of petrifications, principally marine, and these give it a splendid variegated appearance, some like the pudding-stone of which the pillars in the Representatives' Hall at Washington are composed, but far more delicate. These petrifications frequently drop out, whole and perfect. I succeeded in procuring a large and very crooked horn, apparently of some creature of the ox kind, and a number of shells. A bank which they are leveling in the yard formed an ancient cemetery. The earth is black, fat, greasy and very attractive to insects when first laid open, and bones partly decomposed are met with. The face of the bank is a thick strata of animal matter. We shall leave town tomorrow.

OHIO LEGISLATURE. BOUNDARY TROUBLE. GOVERNOR LUCAS.

11. *Thursday.* Were disappointed in our expectations of leaving Columbus today. The stage came in full from the south and we were obliged to give way, although we had engaged and paid for our passage. There being no opposition, the proprietors are perfect tyrants, absolutely



GOV. LUCAS.

uncivil in speech—they do not care to accommodate—if the stage is full, you must wait, even if it be a case of life and death—"we have no extras here, sir." I visited the legislature. They had a short session and did nothing. The speaker, Mr. Creed, is a very young man, rather feminine in his appearance. He votes on all questions taken by yea and nay. There is but one clerk, who reads the acts and resolutions as well as keep the records. Strangers are admitted upon the floor and within the bar of the house—a very bad regulation in no wise conducing to the preservation of good order. Many of the members were smoking, and a great portion rested their legs and part of their bodies on the desks before them. Oh,

for the pen of Mrs. Trollope! A communication signed by one John Biddle, as the Governor rather irreverently terms him, proposing, as president of the Convention of Michigan and in behalf of the people of that territory to consent to Ohio's running the line, provided she attempts no jurisdiction over the territory, was indefinitely postponed.

P. M. This afternoon, I had the honor of waiting upon his Excellency, Gov. Lucas. I found him in his office with one other gentleman, a Mr. Lawler, a land agent. Gov. Lucas is an exceedingly plain man; plain

in his personal appearance, in his dress, his habits, his manners, his speech. He is an old Buckeye farmer and resides on the Scioto, at the village of Piketon. About 30 years since he emigrated from Virginia to this state, where he was for many years a member of the legislature and has been presiding officer of both branches. His wife, he told me, was a native of Haverhill, N. H. Gov. Lucas is very tall—I should think over six feet—a spare, gaunt, bony man, much resembling in his form Senator Bell of New Hampshire. He has a small head, sharp features, a low, retreating forehead and large self-esteem. His skin is dark, and browned by exposure and labor; in short, his whole exterior is that of a rough country farmer. His eyes are grey, small but keen—his head greyish and he is about 60 years of age.

The Governor has much of the old Hickory in his composition; when his purpose is fixed, the resolute perseverance with which he executes it, is nearly allied to mulish obstinacy. He was a soldier in the late war under Hull and others, and performed some hazardous services, it is said, as a spy. Indeed, he boasted to me in conversation that he had his horse shot under him in this very disputed territory, at a period when Gov. Mason of Michigan, if born at all, was an infant at his mother's breast. He is very much excited in relation to this boundary question; he had hardly laid aside my letter of introduction before he began to enlighten me on the subject. On the whole, I was very much gratified with this my call on Gov. Lucas, for which I am indebted to Mr. Hill's kind offices.

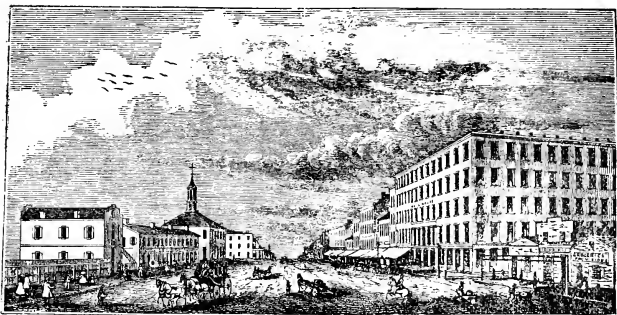
COLUMBUS STATE LIBRARY. THE CITY OF COLUMBUS.

In the evening I visited the State Library, which tho' small, is far superior in numbers and selection, to ours. Many of the best periodicals and newspapers are here regularly received. The old limping Librarian, having discovered that I was from the same section of the country with himself, was quite attentive.

12. FRI. Bid adieu with some regret, to this pleasant little village, or city, as the inhabitants in anticipation, persist in terming it. Columbus was founded in 1812. In that year, when the whole of its present limits was covered with the original forest, it was constituted the seat of government by an act of the legislature and named after the adventurer of Genoa. It was laid out immediately, and many of the lots sold for 2,000 dollars, while covered with primeval timber. Indeed, everything goes by anticipation in the west—the spirit of speculation is the heart's blood of the country. This would be a cleanly place, were it not for the pigs—as it is, it is an improvement on other places I have visited. Its streets are broad and laid out in right angles. One, the main street, on which are the public buildings, forms a part of the National Road and will be macadamized this season. The roads in the neighborhood are so bad, that one sees no carriages, but heavy baggage wagons. The old family chaise, the elfish gig, the farmer's wagon, the light dearbon, are here unknown—everybody,

males and females, market people and all, use the saddle. As we left the village, we called at the jail and took on board the jailor, who is also high sheriff of the county. Here we saw through the window the handsome face of that wholesale deceiver, Mr. ———, who was taken in the midst of his forgeries and his crime, just as he was about being united in marriage to an unsuspecting, amiable lady.

HIGH STREET IN 1835.

U. S. Court State Offices. State House.
House.

Neil House.

By the way, it has been recently disclosed that he is the self-same Rev. Mr. W——, of Massachusetts, who was pardoned out of jail by the Executive of that state, some years ago. Since that period he has been acting under another name and in a different sphere. We had in our company three Virginians, profane, vile, coarse, repulsive men — also the land agent who was in company with Gov. Lucas.

THE SEASON. THE SYCAMORE. THE DELAWARE SULPHUR SPRINGS.

We had a horrible tedious drive this day; the late rains have rendered this rich clayey soil a perfect quagmire. Usually, at this season of the year, the roads are bad, but this has been an extraordinary season. The country above Columbus, and indeed throughout the whole extent of this day's ride, is for farming, equal to anything on this our globe. Yet, why should these wealthy cultivators be so perfectly indifferent to every consideration of decency and comfort about their dwellings? Poor, miserable cabins and log-huts, with roofs and clapboards, by no means impervious to water, are the best you find, unless in some village. They all complain bitterly of the season, their corn, on ground usually dry, is now drowned — the furrows so many ditches of water, — the ground saturated till it can hold no

more. With a rich soil like this, and a new road, under the circumstances, the state of traveling may be readily imagined.

However, we wallowed on, occasionally passing through patches of excellent timber-land. The sycamore tree, the button-wood of the east, here grows to an almost incredible size. The large ones are usually hollow, with a shell some four inches in thickness, which continually increases in circumference. When cut at convenient lengths, the trunk is found very useful. Casks, vats, cisterns, well-curbs, bee hives, pigstyes, etc., are constructed of it.

At Delaware, a very pleasant and thriving village, we tarried about an hour. This is the seat of the celebrated White Sulphur Springs, said to be fully equal to the noted Sulphurs of Virginia. We visited the principal spring. Near it, is erecting a most splendid hotel for the accommodation of visitors, whose convenience demands it and whose number it will doubtless greatly increase. The spring issues forth from the side of the hill; is enclosed in an excellent curb of marble and the water is itself clear as crystal. But not so that with which it comes in contact. The pebbles which line the bottom and sides of the spring and of the brook which conducts the water away, are covered to the depth of an eighth of an inch, with a slimy coat of white sulphur. The water is exceedingly cool and grateful to the sight, of a warm day — but phough! the taste! I have it on my tongue at this moment — I did swallow a dipper full. If any one wishes to obtain a faint idea of its flavor, let him break under his nose an addled egg — the resemblance is striking.

SUCH TRAVELING! COONING THE FENCE!

The road in the afternoon was, if possible, worse than before dinner. Besides the usual depth of mud, we would occasionally, without warning, dive into a hole of unknown depth, filled with black mud, whose murky consistency effectually concealed the mysteries of the interior — and there stick. This they call being stalled — and on such occasions we were obliged to take a fence rail and help along.

At one of these "swales," we broke our main tug, and most of us concluded to walk on, while it was repairing. We soon arrived at a deep and broad pit, floating on whose surface lay several logs, by whose help we hoped to cross. We all succeeded in passing with feet, but two — one turned back discouraged — the other, poor fellow, after he had put his hand to the plough, endeavored to return, but the log slipped from under him, and he was completely soused in a liquid about the consistency of cream. He bore it very philosophically, and afterwards had the advantage of the rest of us, wading with perfect nonchalance through every puddle that crossed his path.

Where the fences were not covered up or carried away, we usually crossed these places by an interesting process which these fellows significantly term "cooning the fence" — that is by clinging to the fence-rails with

fingers and toes and worming along in the best manner the case will admit of. As the fences in this country are invariably of the kind we call Virginia fence or zigzag, this is really no trifling operation, and for inducing a general perspiration, I know nothing which surpasses it. But the grotesque figures, the grimaces and the reluctance which some of our grave old gentlemen displayed at this undignified and laborious way of traveling, was truly amusing. Being rather active, I generally got over first and then had a fine time laughing at their awkward manoeuvres and occasional faux pas.

13. SAT. Last evening, at half past 11 o'clock, we arrived at a miserable inn in the village of Marion, and passed there the rest of the night. Some slept on benches and some in chairs — for myself, I procured half a very comfortable bed, in a room which contained only two more. This morning we progressed, tho' very slowly. The roads grew worse as we proceeded and the accounts which we received from every individual we met, would have deprived us of our senses, had we not become perfectly hardened to anything and everything we might encounter.

LOW PRAIRIES. NIGHT COMES. THE LOG HOUSE.

Our road lay most of the day through low prairies and wet of course. It is to be understood that prairie land is not necessarily low or wet — but signifies only a level or perhaps undulating plain destitute of timber and covered with a sweet grass. Such land is often dry and capable of every variety of cultivation. But the prairies we passed over today are what we might call meadows; very low and wet, incapable of being drained, in a state of nature, unsusceptible of improvement. They are used for grazing and are exceedingly profitable. We saw immense herds of noble cattle appearing in the distance like a waving grove, and reminding one of the description of a herd of buffalo, as they are seen congregating in their uncurbed freedom on the prairie of the Missouri, and as they once were on this very spot. Each drove is attended by a herdsman and his dogs, who keep them from straying, who remain with them by day and lodge within a pound or fold by night. There is no fence here but *dog-fence* — stone and wood being alike strangers to this species of ground. There are occasional huts located in these unhealthy situations, and here and there an open log-shed adjoins one of these cabins, in which is kept a fresh team of horses for "the stage." We entered one house — 'twas a new one — properly a log-house — the logs being roughly hewn and notched at the ends and a place being left for a window sash. It was all in one room, about two-thirds of which has a raised floor, of timber chopped down to about three inches in thickness. At one end, was a large fire-place, on the bare ground and the kitchen utensils were hung around it. The chimney, as is invariably the case, was outside of the building, of sticks of wood built cob-house fashion and plastered with clay — the oven

of clay and brick is a separate structure, out doors, and erected upon wooden blocks.

As is invariably the case, the room was stocked with little children, rising to an unmentionable number, with the greatest regularity, like the steps of a stair-case, from the chubby little infant, who is playing with papa's ramrod, to the half simpering, awkward girl, who sits sewing patch-work at the extreme end of the room. Several of the young 'uns were only not in a state of nudity and the old lady, like almost every female I have met in this part of the country, was bare-legged and bare-footed. We took the liberty to peep into the first structure, the "old house," for this which I have been describing is the second step towards grandeur, and one more than most of these settlers make, which looked rather forlorn in its dismantled, inglorious condition. Two or three beds have been left standing for the accommodation of some of the dozens who make up the family. This structure is called the cabin and is the settlers' primitive residence — composed of rough, unbarked logs, heaped up as we build log fence, with a hole to crawl in, and perhaps another for a window. First in the scale, is the cabin, then the log-house, then the frame building, and then brick — stone is out of the question here, entirely. Specimens of all these, as they have been in turn occupied and deserted, may be occasionally seen on the farms of some industrious and enterprising farmer. The roads on this prairie land are always on a level or below the level of the surface, and are of course a perfect reservoir for the water.

MUDDY ROADS.

No attempt to cover the natural shaky, sticky black soil with anything of a firmer nature has ever been made, and where there was once a ditch at the side of the road, it is now obliterated. In one instance we turned from the road and waded through the long grass of the prairie for miles, preferring a foot of unadulterated water, for it stood to that depth on the surface of the ground, to a great or greater depth of mud. In another, we walked three long miles at one stretch, each one with his boots filled with water and holding up his pantaloons with both hands, as boys play in the puddles, and this because the state of the road was such the horses could not draw us. How one of the Virginians did swear! and I may add, how uncomfortable it made him. The best part of our party kept ourselves perfectly good-tempered, nay almost boisterous, and managed to extract amusement, often at each other's expense, out of every circumstance which occurred, or adventure which we met with. This was the only true way — we were in for it and must go through; grumbling could only add to our misfortune.

SLAVE CATCHING AND SLAVE DRIVING.

By the way, I have found out who our three Virginians are — they are slave-hunters, and are now after three poor fugitives, who have fled

from that happy condition (?) — a state of slavery. At first they spoke of them as their property, but I soon discovered that slave catching for others was their business and that they were well experienced in it, too. The three negroes were all, they said, first rate — one a good scholar, and remarkably intelligent. His master was then very sick, and could not live. Not long since, he expected to die immediately, having had a relapse, and sent for this slave, who had been hired out on another plantation. The faithful negro came, watched upon his master, and for a week never left his bedside except on his business and at his bidding. Yet this master, in expectation of a speedy departure, must rob this poor slave of his liberty that he may leave a larger inheritance to his children. These runaways went by stage to Chillicothe, and were so unwise as to enter their usual names on the waybills. At Chillicothe, the keeper of the principal house sent them to the negro tavern and this is the last they have been heard of. The hunters did not dare to go to the negroes on such an errand, but they are confident they have steered for Canada, as the runaways invariably do, and they expect to find them on the lake, detained by certain men they have stationed at the prominent places to watch or capture suspected negroes. They did not dare to make any inquiries on the road, because they say, they never get any satisfaction, and complain bitterly of the disposition the Ohio people show to cheat them out of their inalienable rights. They say, if they find a constable and point out their negro to him, he will give the fellow a chance to escape before he will move in the business.

I did not know of the shifts to which they are obliged to resort to conceal their disreputable employment. Thus, they enter on the waybills an assumed name, that the negroes may not learn that they are in the country and be on their guard, and as the poor fellows have only two days the start, I tremble for them and told the hunters I hoped they would get away. They grinned and said they would take care of that. From their conversation, I doubt not they would swear to anything, and to the ownership of any negro, if they imagined they could do it securely, and spoke very coolly of the propriety of kidnapping two or three likely fellows, should they be unsuccessful in their present search. They said, a vast many free blacks are annually stolen and taken to the south — that they were knowing to many such cases. From them I learned that Mr. Macpherson, one of our passengers, then on the driver's box, and the identical man who came across the mountains with us from Frederic, Md., and who represented himself as a wealthy slaveholder, about to move to Mississippi, is an internal slave trader and does business very extensively, annually driving large coffles of negroes from Maryland, Virginia, etc., to the south. They have traded with him in that capacity and say they never knew one of these merchants but represented himself as about to settle with a gang of slaves upon a cotton plantation at the south. He is now on an errand similar to their own — is a very genteel man in dress, address and appearance. I learned that there is quite a village of blacks in Canada, to which the runaways direct their efforts, where they find a kind asylum, if they are so

fortunate as to reach it and whence they cannot be legally removed. The hunters had often visited it for purposes best known to themselves. One of them followed a black, who had escaped on horseback, and found him there a few months ago. He immediately lodged a complaint against him for the theft of a horse, had him put in gaol and applied for a warrant for his removal as a culprit. He complained bitterly of the delays to which he was subjected by the Judge, (who is a brother of Commodore Elliott, and a renegade to the British in the late war), and was obliged to return without his prisoner. He will, on this occasion, visit that place and thinks he shall meet with better success. I asked with as much simplicity as I could assume, "What would be the punishment for his crime, if they should get him back?" Oh, said one laughing, if we get him home, that's all we want of him; we don't care anything about the theft—that's all humbug. I became perfectly disgusted with the conversation of these wretches, yet I gathered from it much interesting information—a great deal of it of too revolting nature to be transcribed here.

14. SUN. Last evening, the agent assured us we should be in Sandusky. But it rained all the afternoon; there was a violent thunderstorm and the aspect of affairs became really discouraging. About 9 o'clock, we stopped at a log hut to exchange our horses, when our new driver, (for we change drivers here with the teams), a great, strapping, bare-legged loon came out and declared with many emphatic asseverations, that it would be absolutely impossible to get across the prairie that night, but if we persisted in going on, he would drive us till we stopped. As we saw he was determined not to proceed, we gave up the case, more especially as a gentleman appeared, one of the party, who filled yesterday's stage, and excluded us from going the day we expected to. There were ten in the party and they were obliged to leave all their baggage behind some miles with this gentleman to attend it, the driver assuring him that a baggage wagon would follow and take it on. A wagon did follow and brought the luggage as far as this place, where the driver, probably discouraged, left it, deceiving him by assuring him that another wagon would appear and take it on. Here he has remained since yesterday, and is likely to remain, till he proceeds by his own exertions. Yet, he it remarked, that his own passage, with an extra fee for the baggage, were paid by him at Columbus to Sandusky and here he is left 25 miles below. Meantime, the coach, with the ladies and the rest of the party, proceeded, struck into the prairie, got stalled and broken and the driver unhitched the team and returned. The next morning, he went on with a wagon, and carried them forward—they are now at Sandusky, and not an article of wearing apparel except what they have on their backs. They were obliged to pass the night in a broken carriage, on that wet and lonely prairie and exposed to the attacks of the mosquitoes, who exceed in numbers and size anything I have ever seen. No wonder, the gentleman threatened to prosecute.

The log-hut, where we found ourselves, we knew not for how long a time located, was called a tavern; a bar well stocked with whiskey. At

one end was a generous fire in a fireplace of true primitive capacity and here we sat and laughed at the awkwardness of our situation and poured maledictions upon those whose lies had been instrumental in bringing us here. Better had we not left the canal. Our boat doubtless arrived at Cleveland on Friday or Saturday.

However, we forgot our cares over a good supper of roast venison, corn bread and fresh butter, and then enquired for lodging. There were many awkward grimaces made, as we all, one by one, poked up the crazy ladder into a dark hole of undefined dimensions, called *par eminence*, the chamber. Here in the garret of a log hut, about a dozen persons passed the night—the day had been rainy and the floor and the beds flowed with water. I managed to obtain a dry couch, and as I lay on my back, could contemplate the beauties of the starry creation, or calculate an almanac, through the chinks of the massive, rough-fitted logs which formed the roof and walls of the house.

However, I slept soundly, and at 5 o'clock, we, by common consent emerged. The light of day gave us an opportunity of observing more critically the positions each other had occupied during the night, and a general burst of laughter at the grotesque absurdity of our situation was the consequence of our examination. The scene would have been worthy of a Hogarth's pallet or a Cruikshank's pencil.

The road, after we left the scene of our last night's adventures, was for some miles no worse than before and we began to think we had egregiously cheated. But not so.

PRAIRIE TRAVELING. ARRIVE AT SANDUSKY CITY.

We had a low prairie to cross, worse than anything we had previously experienced. We left the turnpike, for the aggravation of this miserable track, (a road it was not) was greatly enhanced by the sight of a gate with the rates of toll in glaring black paint, every ten miles, and took the old road, about a mile longer, and our driver hoped, better. We proceeded, occasionally getting out and pushing. When about half across, we espied before us two heavy wagons, stalled, fast in the mire, the very tops of their wheels concealed in the mud and the poor beasts standing with drooping countenances and submissive look, before. We could not pass them—the same hole would add our misfortune to theirs, and as if a warning to us, across the prairie, we could see in the turnpike, the indistinct form of the broken coach, in which we would have gone if we could. The driver spoke of returning, but we persuaded him to turn off, try to cross the ditch into the deep grass, and wallow along till he gained higher ground, which was in sight. He did so, whipping up and encouraging his poor beasts at every deep hole or ditch, and we following, wading and jumping behind. We got out safe, but the heavy plunges the coach had made had broken one of our thorough braces and bent to an awful angle, the axle of the hind wheel. Most preferred walking to trusting themselves to this crazy vehicle; for

myself, I was very tired and rode, bracing myself up on the highest side of the coach, and at every hole we crossed, expecting a catastrophe. We finally arrived at the land of rail fences again, and having propped up the broken strap and axletree, for both were broken, we all jumped in and proceeded. We changed horses at a very respectable frame tavern, ten miles from Sandusky, the landlord of which was a native of Dunbarton, N. H., exchanged our used-up vehicle for a lighter coach, and proceeded over a good road and for a novelty, at a good round trot to Sandusky City. Near that place we passed over a high, level plain, which was absolutely sandy. There were swells, too, several gravel banks, small pebbles and even large stones, all comely sights to see, most surely.

SANDUSKY CITY ALIAS PORTLAND. GALLINIPPERS.

We arrived at Sandusky about two o'clock and put up at the principal house, kept by a namesake of my own. I shall never forget my ride across those gloomy, unhealthy prairies, which produce nothing but long grass, horned cattle, disease, mosquitoes and rattlesnakes. One species of meadow grass was shown me, to which is given the singular cognomen of Roman Catholic grass. Why, I did not learn. Sandusky is not so large a place as I had anticipated, judging from its early settlement and notoriety. The insalubrity of its climate, rendering it almost impossible for a stranger to live there, is, without doubt the principal obstacle in its way. As a gentleman very significantly observed to me, "A great part of the inhabitants are over the other side of the hill," for there is their cemetery. Other settlements, such as Cleveland, etc., have been at first nearly as unhealthy, but have improved in process of time. The fever and ague formerly infested the centre of New York, much as it now does Ohio, and was not uncommon in the valley of the Connecticut, within the memory of the present generation. But in this respect, Sandusky does not improve. The village is not quarter so large or populous as Concord, but was full of business, for the Sabbath day. There is, in fact, to a majority of the inhabitants, no Sabbath. I was struck with one singularity—the air was filled and every sunny wall or building was covered with myriads of a disgusting fly, about an inch long, with large wings and feelers. They are sluggish in their movements and perfectly harmless—nobody seemed to notice them. When flying, if they strike an object, they either cling to it or fall, and 24 hours is the extent of their brief existence. Like mosquitoes, they breed on the water and generation daily follows generation in inconceivable numbers. The inhabitants did not appear to notice them, and gentlemen and ladies as they passed the streets were covered with these reptiles. They find their way into the houses and infest everything; even the table where we dined swarmed with them. A gentleman assured me, that he was on board a steamboat last week which ran aground at the mouth of the Detroit river in the night, and they were obliged to remain till daylight. In the morning, vast heaps of these vermin were found on deck, particularly congregated

about the funnels, being either dead or nearly so, and that the quantity shoveled overboard was variously estimated by the passengers at from 6 to 8 bushels. Similar accounts have been given me by others, and from what I myself have seen, I do not doubt their truth. They are considered as certain forerunners of the cholera, and were never known here till just before the arrival of that disease. They are called, improperly, gallinippers, that being the name of a fly which, in common with other species, oddly enough called *pontiacs*, from the old chief of that name, are exceedingly troublesome to horses. We ate our dinner in haste and hurried on board a steamboat which had just touched on her way from Buffalo to take in wood and passengers.

LAKE ERIE. ITS BEAUTIES. STEAMBOATS.

I soon found myself on board the Michigan, the finest boat, as is universally acknowledged, on the lakes. Capt. Chas. Blake is her captain, an experienced navigator but hard-swearing man. It is an extremely difficult passage into the mouth of Sandusky harbor and much time is necessarily consumed in working ingress and egress to the bosom of the fair lake. It requires, perhaps, as much skill to manage a vessel on these waters as on the broad bosom of the salt water ocean—for in good truth, they are inland oceans. The lake I am now on—how small it is compared with Huron or Superior, or yet with these United States, is nevertheless big enough to swallow in its bosom the whole of Britain's fast anchored isle. I could with difficulty reconcile it to my imagination that I was indeed sailing on the surface of a pond, a body of water, as the geographies have it, entirely surrounded by land. Yet so it is.

In one direction, as far as the eye could reach, looking towards the dominions of King William, with the exception of an occasional verdant thickly wooded little island, land could no more be discerned than in looking towards the dominions proper of the same prince from the promontory at Hampton Beach. More than half the apparent horizon was blended by the water's edge, and the deep blue wave was thickly studded with craft of every description from the fishing smack to the brig and schooner, from a pleasure boat to a steam packet.

These last are not such delightful objects to the sight, as we cast our glance over the surface of the water, as are the whitened sails filled with the wind, and urging along the vessel as if endowed with vital powers. The steamboat's lofty and blackened chimneys, the pump working up and down, above the deck—these objects which we cannot avoid taking into view seem misplaced on the bosom of the ocean. There is too much appearance of utility—too much of a sort of grossness, a look of factory about it to be connected with such beautiful scenery. I had heard an anecdote of the inhabitants of a certain place, who, when they, for the first time, saw a steamboat navigating a stream, which for many years glided by their dwellings, undisturbed save by the light bark-canoe or still

frailer dug-out, took it from the up and down movement of the pump, to be a floating sawmill, nor do I doubt its correctness. The lake was calm as an unruffled temper, after we had fairly disentangled ourselves from the harbor—but it is not always so. Violent storms frequently arise, which are more particularly dangerous on Lake Erie, which is of much less depth than the rest of the chain. Shipwrecks are very frequent—vessels, property and lives are every season destroyed. Even steamboats, which can in speed almost outstrip the winds, are often very roughly handled, as the appearance of many will testify and are with difficulty secured in some safe haven.

PERRY'S VICTORY. THE POOR BOY AND DRUNKEN FATHER.

As we left Sandusky, we kept near the American shore, passing in sight of the little town of Venice, swiftly distancing many beautiful little islands, almost grazing the group called the Three Sisters, and sailing probably over the very spot which once resounded with the din and smoke and distress of that great naval battle, which ended in a triumph of American bravery over British insolence sufficient to teach John Bull that his old underling had become saucy enough to whip him as well on the inland lakes as the outer ocean, and to redound to the glory of the victors and the honor of our country. As if by a singular coincidence, we soon after met the Commodore Perry, a new and elegant steamer on her way from Detroit to the Maumee Bay, and hauled alongside to put on board some passengers for that new land of promise, the disputed valley of the Maumee.

15. MONDAY. We arrived at Detroit about two o'clock at night. We found the two principal public houses full, but had our luggage taken to the American, and engaged the first vacant lodging place, if one should occur before night. Such myriads of emigrants and strangers as now crowd this city, are, as they say here, a caution. Many are here with their families, having improvidently left their homes without knowing for whither or for what; many are here on business; many to look on and catch a spark of the general glow of life which seems to animate everything and everybody in the place. I am favorably disappointed with Detroit; I knew it was a very old place, it having been founded by the French about the time of the landing of William Penn, and I expected to see a small, dirty, Frenchified town, with a sprinkling of soldiers, Indians, Irish and Yankee. But Yankee blood, Yankee taste, Yankee spirit predominates and Detroit is in effect a new city. Several destructive fires have swept away almost every remnant of antiquity, even the old fort is entirely removed, and the stranger is surprised to find the principal street called Jefferson Avenue, a perfect epitome of Broadway, a picture of business, a condensation of life, hurry and tumult. On either side are rows of splendid brick blocks, filled with every variety of goods and mechanical trades, where, in 1830, only five years ago, but one brick building was in the whole place, and that our hotel. Now they are removing

many of these brick stores, some three or four years old, and erecting others of greater elegance, uniformity and durability. The street is very wide and perfectly straight, but is rough from the recent rains; it is, however, soon to be paved and Detroit will then be a city in appearance as well as in fact. I had imagined it about as large as Concord, but I learn it contains at least 7,000 inhabitants, having trebled in four years. Of course anybody will presume that here are no Southrons to infect the moral atmosphere with their slothfulness and indolence—no slaves to compete with the labor of the free and render the pursuits of an industrious mechanic a reproach to his character.

With the exception of the Aborigines and the French, both of whom remain within their own limits, except as they mingle with each other, careful that they be not defiled by contact with the Yankees, the inhabitants of Michigan are all either from New England or New York, and from the latter state only those of New England blood. The land of promise, the Far West, some thirty years ago, lay in New York—the Genesee country, I can myself remember, was the destination of many an emigrant; now, this same blood, the same families, and often the identical individuals, are taking another move to Michigan. The descendants of the earlier settlers here cannot, of course, be expected to remain satisfied with what they have found—they are going to Illinois—the next jump of the Yankee-New York families will be to some unnamed territory in the region of the Rocky Mountains. “Westward the star of empire takes its way,” sung Bishop Berkley a century ago.

BOUNDARY TROUBLES. B. F. STICKNEY. LUCIUS LYON.

There is not here apparently so much excitement on the Boundary question as exists in Ohio; though coming direct from Columbus, I was addressed by several individuals on the subject. Michigan doesn't make so much fuss about it; apparently secure of the co-operation of the general government, they go ahead without parley. A word and a blow is with them the order of the day. They catch and imprison every inhabitant of the disputed territory who accepts a commission under the Ohio Executive. A short time since they seized Maj. B. F. Stickney, an old and wealthy citizen, and put him in jail for this offence. To vex him the more and force him to give bonds, thus acknowledging jurisdiction, they put him in the same room where lay on his straw an old, filthy, ragged Frenchman, confined for debt, covered with dirt and vermin. Stickney inspected his room-mate with cautious curiosity, when, careful to get to windward and holding his nose, he hailed him. “What are you here for?” “Because I can't pay my debts.” “How much do you owe?” “Twenty dollars.” “Well, here it is, take up your duds and cut dirt quick.” And thus did Stickney secure an unincumbered possession and gladdened the heart of the poor jailbird. Stickney is an eccentric man; his wonderful letter from this gaol is very conspicuous among the documents accom-

panying Governor Lucas' message; he is from Pembroke, N. H., whence he moved here some thirty years since, where he kept tavern and named his children One, Two, Three, etc., in the order of birth. I found at the tavern Mr. Walker, from Peterboro, N. H., late representative, and his lady, a niece of Judge Smith, with whom, being well acquainted with some of her friends, I became very familiar; she is an exceedingly pleasant woman. I was introduced to Hon. Lucius Lyon, a delegate to the Convention now in session for the formation of a Constitution for the future state of Michigan, and who is also her delegate in the National Council and already spoken of as Senator in Congress. He is a man of middling stature, about thirty-five years old, well-shaped, good head; has a countenance exceedingly handsome, but the features are without expression—perfectly immovable. He is indeed of lethargic temperament—lazy as Sam Hyde. I was also introduced to Gen. McNiel, who is here on his way to Fort Gratiot. He is a man of an extraordinary frame, but I should judge of rather small mind. Self-esteem is his prominent characteristic. I have often heard him talk, but never ten minutes, without some, not always the most ingeniously contrived, allusion to his own great deeds and vast importance. His stiff knee he probably wouldn't cure for a fortune.

The Englishman who fired that ball has much to answer for in atonement of the lies and boasts it has caused. McNeil is about six feet seven inches in height, and well proportioned. Great land speculations are daily made here; Governor Cass, who is out of town at present, has realized a handsome plum. His large farm, at the lower end of town, which extends from the river back and intersected by the main street and several others, cost him some years ago about \$7,000. When he was appointed Secretary of War he contracted to sell it to Major Forsyth, for \$34,000. Soon after, he received an offer of \$50,000, which, as was natural, absolutely frightened him. He went to Forsyth, who was somewhat dependent upon him, and told him the offer, saying, "You don't want to make \$16,000 out of me." Forsyth gave up the bargain, and Cass, grown wiser, kept his land. He has now sold about one-fourth of it for \$100,000, and the remainder will bring him as much more. He may, therefore, be considered a wealthy man. Cass is almost idolized here—the only portrait in the legislative chamber is one of him, drawn at full length—no ordinary honor to be done to a man during his life, and while actively engaged in business. Nor do I approve it.

After Aaron Burr's treason many a vessel's proprietors swept his name from their ships and substituted that of some one whose patriotism death had proved to be lasting. Had the Congress of '76 adorned their hall with the portraits of the successful leaders of her armies, Benedict Arnold's must in justice have occupied a prominent place. I attended the session of the convention. It is held in the room of the legislative

council of the territory, the lower floor of a brick building, the chamber of which is occupied as a court room.

In the convention there are about seventy members; they are, as a whole, a body of fine-looking men—far superior in external appearance to the Ohio Legislature. They seemed to be, however, very irregular in their mode of doing business: careless, hasty, and full of mistakes—each engaged in correcting his neighbor, and making himself blunders enough for the criticism of the next who arose.

They were not deliberating on the Constitution but on a matter which they doubtless considered of paramount importance, the report of the committee on their own compensation. I was much amused with a suggestion which fell from one speaker. The question was, whether the members of the convention should receive for their services three dollars per diem or but two. One gentleman considerably and seriously remarked that, with him, it depended on the solution of the question, From whom is this money to come? If from the general government, he thought three dollars none too much, but if the people of the territory were to be taxed for it he was in favor of two dollars. A gentleman, in reply, probably proceeding on the principle that what's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, ventured to reply that if their work was worth three dollars of Uncle Sam's money, it was of the territory's, and they finally, as might have been foreseen, fixed it at that price without settling the point who were their employers or who they must look to for their wages. But I am told the principle they follow in regard to the general government is much according to the gentleman's doctrine—get all they can—have their roads made, their officers paid, etc., by the whole people. When their state government gets into operation the people will begin to feel its burthens; all seem to favor the establishment of small salaries.

Major Biddle, "one John Biddle," is the President of the convention. He is a Jacksonian, as are the whole of them, nearly, and brother of Nicholas, autocrat of the bank. He has represented the territory in Congress. He owns the American Hotel and boards there, with all his family. He is a gouty old don, of good height, fleshy and slow in motion and speech. He has a high, retreating forehead, sandy hair and complexion, deep blue eyes and a voice slow of utterance and very feminine. He is not a very good presiding officer. I called on Governor Mason, to whom I had a letter from Mr. Hill, but did not find him at home. The beds at our tavern were full, so I was obliged to go to the Mansion House, the other great house, rented by Griswold, the same who rents the American. There I found a good bed. In going there I met one of my old friends, the slave catchers. They have separated in different routes, and I was glad to learn had as yet no luck. Mr. Fletcher's brother, the Judge, is holding court at Pontiac, a county town, twenty-five miles from this, and Mr. F. will go there to-morrow to visit him. Having no objection to

see a little of the interior I shall accompany him. The Judge lives at Ann Arbor, and held his court there last week, where we expected to find him. We should have done so had we not been so grievously delayed in Ohio.

16. TUES. At eight o'clock the *stage* for Pontiac called at the tavern and we put ourselves aboard. This stage is neither more nor less than a very long wagon; the body placed directly upon the axletrees and covered with a screen or oilcloth. This is the only species of coach that the horses can draw over this road. The distance is twenty-five miles, and we were from 8 A. M. to 4 P. M. in traveling it. The road is a perfect dead level till you get within a quarter of a mile of Pontiac, where you meet with swell, stones and sandbanks.

RIDE TO PONTIAC. KILLED RATTLESNAKE. COURTHOUSE.

It was through a great extent of thickly wooded timber land, but the trees were generally not of the largest kind. There is a little tavern every four miles and occasionally a dwelling, but no village. The road over the low meadows, and for much of the distance, is built of logs laid side by side and is christened a corduroy turnpike. The sun shines on it only when at the zenith—hence we find the road muddy and full of deep holes, but a real Christian highway compared with Ohio turnpikes, though from the representations we received of it at Detroit we hardly expected to find it passable.

We were not obliged to get out during the whole distance, though I did walk some, through choice. Once, I was some distance ahead of the coach, and spying a singular flower in the border of the wood, I leaped over a log to get it. Just as I jumped I saw a snake coiled up in the rotten wood under my feet, and after some difficulty found a stick, attacked him and killed him. Just then the stage came up and stopped and from the driver I learned that my conquered enemy was the massasagwa, the Michigan rattlesnake. This reptile is short but thick—from the accounts, I should think him not so venomous as our own rattlesnake. His bite is often death, but if properly treated not usually so; his fang is exceedingly short and sharp and the wound is small. He cannot bite through a boot, nor often through woollen cloth, nor can he strike higher than the knee. Surveyors and woodmen usually tie some kind of sack-cloth about their legs, and are thus secure. This snake does not always give warning. Little barefooted children, while picking berries, etc., often suffer severely; the Indians are said to make no account of the bite at all.

Near Pontiac are some very valuable mill privileges, situate on a small river, to which has been given the name of Clinton. The village is itself neat, New England like. Handsome painted houses, with green blinds, neat stores and shops give it a distinctive character. It is, of

course, a new place, and as yet small, but by anticipation a city. Well situated lots of land are nearly as high as in Concord. There are two taverns, both were full, it being court time; but the landlord, learning that the applicant was a brother of "the Judge," who was a boarder of his, concluded that he would find room for us. Here I met with Mr. Dunklee, of Concord, late graduate at Dartmouth, a moderate scholar, who, having studied divinity till he was sick of it or till it was sick of him, has finally concluded to turn merchant and astonish the natives of Pontiac.

Judge LeRoy, the great man here, one of the county judges, is a silent partner. We went to the court house. It is situated on a beautiful eminence and combines, within one moderate building, court room, jury rooms, jail and jailor's dwelling house. The court room is a little, long, crowded hole.

PONTIAC. JUDGE FLETCHER. LAKES AND OAK-OPENINGS.

I had almost written it *hell*, where judges, jury, lawyers, sheriff, criminal and spectators are all crowded together into a space little larger than the lawyers' bar at Concord. It is but justice to say that a new court house is soon to be erected. I was introduced to 'Squire Draper, a lawyer here, late of Concord, Mass., and to 'Squire Talbot, formerly of New York City and later still of Kentucky. He is an old fellow, will talk as long as you'll listen, is a monomaniac almost. He is a son of Commodore Talbot and his wife a daughter of Commodore Truxton. Judges Fletcher and LeRoy were on the bench; the other judge is sick of the fever and ague, which everybody must have on coming here, and some don't get rid of it for years. The poor fellows look miserable, just sick enough to make themselves and everybody near them uncomfortable—wrapped up in overcoats and flannels, with the thermometer at 90—sweltering over the kitchen fire and growling and swearing at everything that crosses their path. Judge Fletcher does not resemble his brother in the least—he possesses a far more lively temperament—is active and quick in his motions. He recognized his brother in court, but did not speak to him till after adjournment. Dunklee and I called at Mr. Draper's and made an arrangement with his youngest son, James, an active youth of fifteen, for a fishing excursion on the morrow.

There are several elder sons, all here in business, professional or mercantile, and two very fine, intelligent daughters. Went home and to bed.

17. WED. Awoke with a very violent sick headache; fortunately, was enabled to provoke my stomach to *yield*—after which had a fine nap and was well. So, about ten o'clock, jumped into a wagon with Draper & Dunklee and started. We had fishing tackle and guns for the whole party; so we anticipated sport. They call here every little pond a lake, an affectation which is peculiarly displaced in a territory surrounded by the largest

sheets of inland water in the known world. Pontiac is situated directly among about a dozen of these lakes, and to one of them, Pine Lake, we directed our horse. Why called *Pine*, I know not, as there is no pine in this region. The lake is about four miles distant—the road, a private carriage track through the opening.

FISHING EXPEDITION. INDIANS. SUSPICION. WILLIAMS LAKE.

Pontiac, where there is no clearing, is entirely covered with what is called "oak opening," and so is a great part of the territory. The oaks are noble trees and stand like apple trees in an orchard, from one to three rods asunder. The intervening part is covered with a sort of scrub oak, some four or five feet high, and you may ride for miles here without seeing a tree or bush that is not an oak. The labor of cutting a road over such land is of course trifling—the soil is first rate for grain and makes good roads without labor. Even on the public highways, nothing is more common than to see a tree blown across the road and turning the path round it—each traveler preferring to ride round the tree through the underbrush to making any exertions to remove the obstacle. Judge Fletcher informs me that he has driven his two-horse carriage forty miles in succession through these openings, where there was no path or trace of wheels, the horses perfectly accustomed to the underbrush. At Pine Lake there is a handsomely situated farmhouse, the owner of which, a trader in Pontiac, gave us permission to use his boat, but the keeper, a surly, suspicious fool, fancying that there was something supercilious in Dunklee's manner, swore, like an independent man as he was, that if he were worth millions and he a poor farmer, he'd be damned if he'd be trodden upon and we might whistle for the boat. Our spokesman returned him as good as he got and we set off, retraced our steps, passed directly thro' the village and to Williams Lake, about eight miles, over a good road. We met a large party of Indians, men, women and children, on their way to Detroit and Fort Malden on the British side; to the former place to receive a payment from our government in return for their land; to the latter for their British presents. That government, in return for their services during the war, agreed to pay them annually five dollars a head for a certain number of years. That time has expired, but they cannot now get rid of them. The squaws carry as many polls as they can—all their own children and all they can borrow. The presents are usually in blankets or trinkets, which, however, they will often pawn for a canteen of grog—"more whiske" is the invariable demand. The men are stout, fine looking fellows and many of the women and children handsome. They wear blankets, many of them leggings, but most of them have their legs entirely bare.

They have an abundance of silver bands, collars, bracelets and broaches, and the women, pendants in their ears. The children are generally barefoot; the adults usually wear deerskin moccasins. Crowds of

these fellows we have met, from Detroit in Pontiac, going in either direction. At Williams Lake, a most beautiful little sheet of water, we found a handsome farmhouse inhabited too by civilized people, and in a most delightful situation. The house has a large front yard and faced the street—from the rear, there was a gradual descent to the pond, beyond which many settlers' houses were visible in the distance. Mr. Williams, was from old Concord and settled here about 17 years ago. He died last fall, having raised a large family of children, most of whom he established near him. The old lady and the youngest son, the only native of Michigan in the family, were at home and my companions being acquainted with them, we were handsomely treated.

A FINE FARM; AND FARMER'S COMFORTS. FISHING. THE COURTS.

They have an extensive apiary and noble garden. The orchard is fine, and the fruit in great abundance—particularly the plums, of which they have every variety and in great quantity. We took the boat, a light, fragile dug-out, and sailed over the surface of this delightful little lake—then returned. A dinner was ready for us—hot bread, fresh butter, fresh honey and new milk. It was late, we were hungry and did full justice to this delicious repast. This was indeed a land flowing with milk and honey. After dinner we prepared to fish. I caught the first; we had excellent luck and returned home just at night—in season for my tea, very much pleased with my excursion. Indeed, how much better it is to live as do the Williams family than in the style of their brother farmers in Ohio. There is something by Roscoe which just speaks my mind on the subject. "Surely," he says, "man is the most foolish of all animals, and civilized man the most foolish of all men. Anticipation is his curse; and to prevent the contingency of evil, he makes life one continual evil. Health, wisdom, peace of mind, conscience—all are sacrificed to the absurd purpose of heaping up for the use of life more than life can employ, under the flimsy pretext of providing for his children, till practice becomes habit and we labor on till we are obliged to take our departure, as tired of this world as we are unprepared for the rational happiness of the next."

18. THURS. Soon after breakfast, Squire Fletcher and I took the Judge's horses and carriage for a ride. The Judge is obliged to have his private carriage, for there are no public conveyances through which to travel his circuit. He has a handsome pair of horses, sports a splendid gold watch and is a very great man. His duties are, however, very arduous and were it not for waiting to see what may be the aspect of affairs on the formation of a state constitution, he would resign and return to the practice. He is obliged to hold a court in each county—this occupies him eight months of the year. His usual session hours here are from eight to eight, with one hour's intermission. His associates are mere cyphers, like our own county judges in New Hampshire, and we can see from this judge

how great are his opportunities for study and reflection on the causes which occur. His jurisdiction is over civil and criminal cases—the highest court of the territory.

There is a Superior Court, the judges of which receive their appointment from the General Government, and who have cognizance of questions of law. Judge F.'s salary is 1,500 dollars. We rode to a village about four miles distant; I forgot its name.

PONTIAC LAWYERS. GUNNING. QUAILS. INDIAN CARAVANS.

Returning we took a different and longer road and passed through some of the finest of the country. After our return, I visited the court. The way they do business here is amusing. There are no lawbooks—the Judge is obliged to carry such as he may wish for reference with him. The lawyers come into the court without any previous preparation and enter upon the case helter skelter, without consideration and often beaten by the evidence of his own witnesses.

A good lawyer amongst these asses would thrive. I met with Mr. Cleland, of Detroit, a very good lawyer and fine man, who was extremely sociable and made me promise to call on him on my return. Drove of Indians continually passing through town this day.

P. M. I called at Mr. Draper's with Dunklee. From the parlor, I could hear Mr. Talbot with his stentorian lungs pleading a case with great earnestness and zeal. He is very prolix—Mr. Fletcher said that his plea combined a great deal of legal learning with much that was extraneous and idle. He is a strange man. Jimmie Dunklee and I took a walk into the wood. Shot a few quails, who are remarkably thick in these parts. They are usually in pairs, either on the ground picking their grubs, or on some stump or log, making their peculiar double whistle which you can easily imitate, and by so doing can always get near enough for a shot. We found a plenty of strawberries, and I ate as many as I dared to. My late difficulties, however, admonished me of the necessity of prudence. Returning to Mr. Draper's, we took tea there with their pleasant family, after which I returned home.

19. FRI. This morning I was awake by a very violent clap of thunder which to shake the house to its very foundation. After this, it rained, thundered and lightened all day. From 'Squire Talbot I procured old Commodore Truxton's autograph. His own father's he could not find. A very large caravan of Indians came into town about midday. Many of the women and children were mounted on small, tough, ragged ponies, which they were taking down to dispose of. On one of these horses, by a sort of wooden machine, half saddle, half panniers, were often stuck a woman with four children, beside a papoose on her back, suspended by a band round her forehead. All these, with the exception of one or two men who had hair-seal caps, were perfectly bareheaded. The rain was literally pouring down in sheets, but they did not offer to go in or seemed to mind it,

but huddled up, for no earthly purpose that I could discover, near to the tavern. I thought, however, many of them seemed to shiver, although there was no complaint, for it was very cold. The beasts stood patient and crestfallen, as though they were aware that they cut but a sorry figure, their ears lopped down and their hides smoking in the torrent.

INDIANS. STAGE COACHING. FACE OF COUNTRY. AN OLD SETTLER.

There were several old men, who must have been active warriors at a period when all this country was their undisputed property — when they were at liberty to range abroad at pleasure, each under his own vine and fig tree and none to molest him or make him afraid. At present, how changed is their degraded condition. One of these ancients, a venerable looking old man, with bald head, gray hairs and a scarred and wrinkled visage, came up to a gentleman on the piazza, and presenting a wooden ladle and spoon, humbly begged for "some whisk." These are nearly the only English words they will speak, even those who know how, but there are several white men who knew them and conversed with them in their own language. I asked one of the men, if he were Saginaw. "No, Shiawassee." That was the name of the tribe. In the afternoon, talked with Mr. Cleland, attended court, wrote journal and called at Mr. Draper's to bid farewell — a very clever family. In the evening, Dunklee and I attended an itinerant book auction. The books sold very high and well. The purchasers were eager — one would suppose there existed quite a literary taste in these regions. Dunklee promised to correspond with me and I prepared for my departure tomorrow and went to bed.

20. SAT. Started early. It did not rain, but yesterday's storm had by no means improved the quality of the road. Our *coach* was this time an open wagon and we the only passengers. There were no springs to the carriage, the seats were boards placed on the top of the box, and what with the jolts of the vehicle, the holes in the road and our efforts at balancing, no exercise of the gymnasium could have been more salutary. I have read somewhere the question, Who ever heard of a dyspeptic stage driver? I would defy all the attacks of indigestion, even if I shared the food of the ostrich, and as to the hypo — the blue devils would have their little souls jolted out of them by a ride from Pontiac to Detroit. Our driver was sociable and we did very well. The flats for a mile or so were entirely drowned and we waded in the water where it stood over the road perhaps two feet deep. At the edge of the flats, we found a woman and her daughter waiting for us to take them across — they were going for strawberries. The woman had lived here for five years, had last moved from Ohio, said she felt lonely and reckoned it was about time to move off — all her children had left her but five! As we proceeded I noticed every log of the causeway, that happened to rise above the surface, was crowned with a villainous rattlesnake — probably driven out of his nest by the deluge.

RATTLESNAKES. INDIANS, BUGS, RAIN, ETC. RAILROAD.

The driver said, whenever he saw a very large one, he jumped out and killed him, but the little ones, he never disturbed. One of his leaders had been bitten by one, a strange conformation of the nose was the consequence. It looked as if sliced off literally with an axe. He was with difficulty cured. We passed several camps of the Indians on their road and met and overtook a great number. Two stout fellows, whom I remembered seeing at Pontiac, kept abreast of us several miles. They beguiled the tedium of the way by a pipe which served them both, amicably dividing between them its use and the time. Occasionally, when opposite a wood, one would take up a sort of wooden pipe hung at his girdle, and whistle upon it — making a perfect imitation of the bleating of a young fawn, by which they often bring up to them a deer, and gain a shot at her — they both carried guns. A little girl of the party, yesterday in Pontiac, led a beautiful tame fawn. Several violent showers made our way extremely tedious, in our exposed situation, and the aggravation was increased by the sloth-like pace at which we were obliged to progress. Oh! when they get the railroad finished, what a difference it will make. Ten miles of it will be finished next year. This is the finest country in the world for a railroad — a perfect level, no deep cuts, no inclined planes, no high banks, no ledges. To be sure, there is no stone, but then they can do without it. At the depth of three feet there is a solid pan. The intention is to cut sticks of timber — say, eight feet long and drive these piles into the ground; on the butts of the sticks lay the rails, and all agree that such a road will be far more cheaply constructed than any other good road could possibly be, over this route. Being hungry, at about one o'clock, we stopped at a tavern and ordered a dish of milk. The milk was sweet, but the bread was dry and stale and as it began to saturate, the little red bugs rose, kicking most lustily, to the surface, where they were immediately skimmed off and most barbarously committed to the flames. After our repast, we found the road lined on both sides with Indians, returning with their loads — men, women, and even little children, toiled on with their faces bent to the ground, their backs loaded with blankets, bundles, kettles, frying pans, spinning wheels, guns, etc., among which motley burden the black eyes of some happy little pappoose not infrequently glared out with a brilliancy which might have put a massassagua to the blush. A man in a wagon ahead of us, at sight of this caravan, jumped out, left his companions and began to return on foot.

HIGHLANDERS. GOV. MASON. MR. NORVELL. THEATRE.

He was three miles from home on his way to Detroit, but was obliged to return, for, says he, "My wife is not used to these fellows, as we have lately come into the country, and I know if they go into the house, as they likely will, and see she's scared, they'll act just as they are a mind to." We arrived at Detroit about half past two and I spent the afternoon in

walking around the city. We put up at the American. Here I saw a Highlander in full national dress, cap, dirk, etc. His plaid, his trappings, his leggings, with his handsome features and brawny frame, gave him an exceedingly picturesque appearance, but I should think his bare knees would be cold. He is a Scotch gentleman's servant. After tea, I called on Gov. Mason and at length found him at home. I was prepared to see a young man, but not such a boy in appearance. He was, however, a perfect gentleman in manners. He is short and thick-set, of dark complexion, handsome square features, high forehead and large head. He has black hair and black eyes, dresses in showy style, wore a broadcloth surtout and is much of an exquisite. He has been, they say, very dissipated, and now uses tobacco—he is a sort of a pet of the government. His father, John T. Mason, resides here; he has several sisters, whom I saw. He came here in 1830 and was soon after appointed secretary. I well recollect the hue and cry made about such an appointment in the papers. Gov. Mason introduced me to Mr. Norvell, the postmaster here, an ambitious, crafty man, humorous, and himself a cause of humor to others, waddling about with an air and gait truly ludicrous. They were all preparing to go to the theatre, to benefit of the great star here, one Mrs. McClure. By Gov. M.'s invitation I accompanied them. The play was Sheridan Knowles' drama, "The Wife."

My old acquaintance, Trowbridge, the manager of the Concord Theatre that was, I recognized in one of the characters. Mrs. McClure and one or two besides played well; the minor parts were most miserably performed. I found the theater was patronized by the first people here. Judges and grave convention men surrounded me. I did not stop to the afterpiece, but returned home and to bed. Saw a paper this afternoon alluding to the organization of the N. H. Legislature—by which it appears Friend Fowler has been appointed Clerk of the Senate. I know how it was done.

MR. CLELAND. SOCIETY IN DETROIT. REV. MR. CLEVELAND.

21. SUNDAY. A. M. Called on Governor Mason and accompanied him and his sister to the Episcopal Church. This is a very large, handsome house, but they have not yet got any settled preacher. One Mr. Lister preached a very able sermon. Governor Mason, on our return, gave me a very strong invitation to go up to the upper lakes and Chicago with their party, in the steamboat Michigan, which starts on the trip to-morrow night. Governor Cass and his daughter (to whom Mr. Mason is playing the agreeable) are going. 'Twould be exceedingly pleasant, but it would take a fortnight, and I can't spare the time. I want to be at home at least a few weeks before commencement, if possible. P. M. I attended at the Presbyterian Church, with Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Cleland. Mr. Cleveland, the regular preacher, I was introduced to by Mr. Cleland. I took tea with the latter, at his friend, Mrs. Larned's. She is the widow

of the late General Larned, who died last season of the cholera. She is a very fine woman, and has a fine family. The only son, Sylvester, named after his uncle, the celebrated clergyman of that name of New Orleans, is about my own age and a fine boy.

Mr. Pitts, the partner of Mr. Cleland, boards here. He is a fine man and a good lawyer; late a graduate of Harvard. After tea, happening to mention my acquaintance with Sam Chandler, who died here this spring of consumption, Mr. Cleland insisted upon my going with him to his sister's, Mrs. Moore, who would be so glad to see any acquaintance of her deceased brother. Her husband and a brother are in partnership—in trade. They all are natives of Bedford, N. H. We met young Chandler just before entering the house, who returned with us and introduced us to his brother-in-law and sister. They all appeared glad to see me on account of their brother, who was indeed a fine fellow. In the evening Mr. Chandler, Mr. Cleland and myself returned to the Presbyterian Church to listen to a discourse from Mr. Cleveland. Passing the old market, which is nearly dismantled, I noticed that the crowd of men and boys, who had been there all day, making riot and confusion, was little diminished. They were engaged in the delectable employment of killing rats, of whose dead carcasses they had collected several bushels. Mr. Cleveland delivered his sermon extempore, in a curious off-hand manner, but rendering himself intelligible to every hearer. In the midst of some of his most powerful exhortations he would frequently break in with, "Gentlemen, you will find plenty of seats here at the right hand of the desk"—"Mr. Brown, please sit along close, so as to leave the end of the seat empty for others," or "Mr. Lewis, be so kind as to raise that window, we shall all suffocate here," which had rather an odd effect. He is very devoted, however, and popular. There is no appearance of priestcraft in his daily walk and conversation, but he makes himself free with all. He is a brother of Prof. Cleveland, and formerly preached at Exeter, boarding at Capt. Chamberlain's. He is a short, large man, exceedingly active, of lightish hair and sandy complexion, and his hurried, business-like gait, snuff-colored coat, black neckstock and white hat, give him an external appearance the very reverse of ministerial.

FRENCH INHABITANTS. THE CONVENTION. JUDGE WOODBRIDGE.

22. MON. We expected to leave Detroit this morning, in the morning boat for Buffalo, but several of the passengers in her, the Chas. Townsend, among whom was one gentleman, Mr. Merrill, of Boston, bookseller, whom I knew, give such a discouraging account of her that we finally resolved to wait till evening and take the Sandusky. After breakfast, took a long walk along the river with young Chandler.

He is a very fine fellow, much resembles his brother, he is a grandson of old Robert Orr. On the little narrow street, near the river, or rather of which the river formed one side, is settled by the French, the

descendants of the original proprietors. They are a singular people—hate the Yankees—will not mix with them, will not suffer their children to learn the language or have any intercourse with them. Their lots are very narrow, but run back from the river, many of them three or four miles into the country. This happened, as each of the original settlers wished a situation for his dwelling on their dear river as well as a farm—this gave rise to the inconvenient shape of their farms. These lots, in running back, cross the main street, and make four or five building spots, but their jealous owners will not sell these spots though they do not improve them themselves, except in cultivation, and though many of them would command almost any price that could be named. They have no part nor lot in the improvements of the times, but are entirely under the dominion of the priests, they own a very large cathedral. We walked by Governor Cass' farm, and to his ancient mansion, an old, rough-looking, one-story, wooden building, but capacious.

Afterwards, I called on Mr. Cleland; with him I went to the court house. The superior court was just concluding its session above. One of the judges I have been introduced to, Judge Wilkins. He is a man of great genius—almost insane—a young man, inclined to intemperance, and too much of a jockey in his external appearance for the bench. He possesses exalted but eccentric talents. The presiding judge, Sibley, is a rosy-cheeked, white-haired old man, about sixty-five years old. I sat some time in the convention. They were debating on the mode of carrying the constitution into operation, and there was much of the irregularity visible which I have before noticed.

GOVERNOR CASS. THE INDIANS. ON BOARD STEAMBOAT.

Judge Woodbridge, the son-in-law of McFingal, and formerly a delegate in Congress, takes a prominent stand in the debates of the convention. Although in the minority, he is listened to with great deference and has done much good by cooling the ardor of those who, in the pride of their authority, are inclined to crowd too much into their pattern of a constitution, and bind the hands of future legislatures. He is a man of acknowledged talents and parliamentary experience, having commenced his career in the legislatures of Ohio. He speaks with great earnestness and effect and with forcible enunciation, though his voice is harsh and cracked. He is tall and bony, apparently about sixty years of age; he has a gray head, rigid features, a round, good forehead, and is exceedingly nervous. Governor Cass was present, among the spectators. Returning, I peeped into the justice's court, where Mr. Cleland had some business. The lawyers here are obliged to devote much time to these small matters. Thence to the bookstore, where I read the addresses of Governor Cass and Major Biddle before the Historical Society.

P. M. After dinner I called on Governor Cass, with my letter from Mr. Hill. I found him at his friend, Mr. Trowbridge's, the cashier of

the Detroit Bank, and very busy, engaged with his agents for paying the Indians, so I did not trouble him long. He said he had not for twenty years seen so many Indians together, that it reminded him of old times. Of the French, he remarked that they were very easy to assimilate with the Indians but never with the Americans. From this similarity of character it happens that the Indians were also firmer friends of the French than of the English. (I afterwards called again at Mr. Cleland's office, who has been very kind to me and wished me to write him. He hasn't the physiognomy of a sociable man, that's certain, but it is certain that his countenance belies him. He was first editor of the opposition paper here—is now extensively engaged in practice.) Governor Cass is not tall but is full in figure, has a large head, hair inclined to a dark red, which is, I am told not his own,—he has a red face and blue eyes—his cheeks are low and his face is widest at the mouth,—it is large and stolid and a large mole at the left of his mouth give it rather a singular appearance. He has not the appearance of a man of great talents. This evening I took tea with Mr. Chandler, his sister & partner & having taken leave, hurried on board after the time appointed. Met Mr. Fletcher in as great haste as myself, who fearing to be left behind had sent my "traps" on board with his own. But when we were there we learnt that the machinery was out of order & we should not get away till some time in the night. Our hotel here was a good one, but their prices are very high—equal to anything in the seaport cities. Rev. Mr. Cleveland came on board with a friend of his an old townsman Mr. Chamberlain, formerly of Salem, now of Illinois, and a nephew of my old capt. C. of Exeter. From them I learnt, with sincere sorrow, of the death of the old Captain. Had a long talk with Mr. Cleveland about the Chamberlain girls and a further conversation with Mr. Chamberlain, discovered we had seen each other before—he being the same who once paid a visit at Exeter and interested me very much with some specimens of gold ore, he then residing in the Virginia gold region. Mrs. Larned, with whom I took tea last Sunday, with her son and two youngest daughters, are to accompany us to Cleveland on their way to Kenyon College, which Sylvester intends to enter—he is a very fine boy, tho' somewhat vain and has promised to write to me. We amused ourselves as well as we could during the evening with backgammon and checkers, tho' pestered as usual with the remarks and advice of the bystanders. A son of the late Gov. Porter, a clever young man, a friend of Larned's, spent the evening with us. I have seen his mother—she is big as a hogshead.

23. TUES. Morning dawned—the steward rang his bell—I arose and looked out still upon Detroit. This is vexatious. Ought to have left yesterday morning, entered our name on board this boat in the evening—two other boats have left in the meantime—but we remain.

There was no help for it, tho', so took one more walk in Detroit, in company with Larned. Did not feel too bright, having been broken of my rest, by the everlasting hammering on the machinery. Speaking of

Hoffman's letters from the West, Larned says that the anecdote Hoffman relates of Gov. Cass, is true of his father—it certainly isn't of Cass. The little streets on the river are lined with groceries, as is usual in seaport towns—tho' I have seen not so much intemperance as might reasonably have been expected.

Did not start till dinner time; about one. Now, tho' I should admire to spend a day or two in Detroit, yet, when one expects to go at a certain time, it is vexatious to be delayed. Had a very pleasant trip down the river, a part of the country which I had not before seen, as I came up in the night—so there was one advantage in our delay. Passed Springwells, about three miles from the city,—the ancient Bellefontaine, where are, as both names indicate, beautiful springs,—the seat of Judge Woodbridge & the place of deposit of the remains of the gifted poet of the Revolution, Trumbull. Here Brock landed his army, prior to the dastardly surrender of Detroit by the recreant Hull. The country on both sides of the river is here very flat—a sort of interval—and excellent for cultivation.

THE INDIANS AT FORT MALDEN. CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Amherstburg and Fort Malden on the British side, are prominent objects and passing as the channel does, close to the shore, we had a good view of them. Here is the agency for satisfying the Indians with their yearly gifts and such a sight as the fields and woods around the town presented, my eyes never before beheld. They were white with the tents of the Aborigines—the rightful owners of that soil on which they can now only appear as cringing dependent. They ran on the shore, greeting our vessel, in troops of fifties and of hundreds screaming and whooping in their delight and their intoxication,—hideously begrimed with red and black paint and adorned with feathers, crests, bands, particolored garments and every variety of ornament which barbarous taste could suggest. An island in the river, between which and the town we glided, seemed literally alive with them, and the bleached white canvass which crowned every bush and served as a nest for a family, formed an exceedingly picturesque appearance. The surface of the water was alive with the canoes, scudding about in every direction, the navigators, many of them, seemingly having no other object in view than sport,—many engaged in fishing, and many, with a little sail spread and favored with an excellent breeze, and their craft loaded with goods and live stock to the water's edge, with their bows turned homewards were returning to the place whence they departed. These were Saginaws, who come all the way from Fort Gratiot by water. In the evening, played with Larned. This is a noble boat, & I never enjoyed myself better.

A pleasanter company, perhaps could not have been collected. Larned is a fine boy, and his little sister, about six years old, very intelligent, and inquisitive. Have read some but have found it impossible to write. The lake, though smooth, is too rough for that.

24. WED. Early in the morning we stopped at Cleveland and I bade farewell to my friend Larned, his mother and sisters. I stepped on shore, but did not see much of this great and flourishing place, as our stay was short. It is full of business, life and activity, at the head of the great canal and possessing a good harbor, it becomes the depot of trade between New York, Michigan and the South and the West. It already contains 6000 inhabitants. A few miles further another white light-house presented itself at the extremity of a long wooden pier, and we ran into the harbor of Ashtabula. Here we stopped to take in wood, and in company with several of my fellow passengers, I walked to the top of the beautiful eminence which overlooks the beautiful lake. The next port was **Conneaut**, and here I lost my companion 'Squire Fletcher. He stops a day or two to visit some friend in this region and will probably join me again as he will not go to Niagara.

MORMANITE PREACHING ON LAKE ERIE!

Our boat's company is remarkably quiet. Mr. Greenwood of Boston, a companion of Mr. Chamberlain and a singularly simple, harmless man, has been distributing tracts all over the boat and furnished every idle loon with good reading. We have, too, a company of Mormonite missionaries aboard, who are extremely zealous, hardy-looking men, humble in their pretensions, evidently sincere, and contenting themselves with the privations of a steerage passage, to avoid unnecessary expense. They are all good singers and have been singing their peculiar songs to a large audience. They are very anxious to engage their fellow passengers in an argument and have the Scriptures at their tongues end—in no wise lothe to give a reason for faith that is in them. By my persuasions, Mr. Chamberlain was induced to request of one of them a sermon in the evening, an exposition of his doctrines, to which he readily assented. At Erie, we stopped a short time. It is a handsome place, and has a large harbor, formed by the construction of two artificial piers, forming almost a complete semicircle. Within this harbor are sunk the fleet of the late Commodore Perry, with the vessels taken from the British in the glorious engagement of the 10 Sept., 1813. One of these, the *Queen Charlotte*, was this spring raised, found in good condition and now lies at Detroit. In the evening, about eight o'clock, the preacher took his stand on deck, between the captain's office and the door of the ladies' cabin. The ladies formed a semicircle about their door and the gentlemen brought benches and crowded in, in the best way we could. By the time the sermon commenced, we were surrounded by all the deck passengers, idlers and men off duty on board the boat.

The motley group preserved strict order—no levity was visible—no noise was heard save the sound of the preacher's voice, the unceasing, asthmatic puff of the engine as she urged the floating castle through the blue waters of Erie. The Mormonite who had undertaken the task of

enlightening our heathenish minds, was a stout, good looking man, with a handsome forehead, uneducated but fluent of tongue and entirely free from that twang and whine which so characterize many enthusiasts. He had been called upon to explain the faith of the people called in ridicule, Mormonites but who called themselves the saints of the latter days. They found their faith on that text (with its collaterals) which declares that it shall come to pass in the last days, I will pour out of my spirit unto all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy and your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams and on my servants and my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of the spirit and they shall prophesy, &c. He stated that these things had begun to be fulfilled in them; that the spirit of God had been poured out upon them like water; that miracles had been wrought, visions interpreted, the gift of tongues realized and prophecies made & fulfilled and much more to like purpose. That the Golden Book of Mormon had been miraculously given them of God, an historical account of the doings of God's people in this new world and subordinate to and corroborative of the truth of the Holy Scriptures.

He preached long and zealously but whether he made any converts, I cannot pretend to assert.

25. THURS. Early this morning, we arrived in Buffalo.

NOTE. Here, since all that relates to the observations of Mr. Bradley concerning Ohio and Michigan end, our extracts from his Journal are concluded. Mr. Bradley entered upon this journey from Concord, N. H., on the morning of May 17th, traveling by such facilities as the times then afforded, he visited Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Frederick, crossed the Alleghanies to Wheeling — thence through Ohio and into Michigan and to Buffalo, as recorded above, thence through northern New York and via Vermont he reaches home on the evening of July 3. There he enters in his Journal: — “My friends received me, as one returning from the circumnavigation of the globe, as having providentially escaped accident and death and as having a clear and undoubted right to the title of — a great traveler! ! !”

G. H. T.

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E. O. Randall

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AVERY'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

The second volume of *A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE*, From the Earliest Records to the Present Time, by Elroy McKendree Avery, published by the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio, has been issued by the publishers. The purpose and general plan of this work, which when completed will comprise fifteen volumes, was set forth in the *QUARTERLY* for April 1905. The second volume fully meets the ambitious and alluring promise of the first volume. The volume before us embraces the period of American Colonies from 1600 to 1660. The various initial settlements are succinctly portrayed under the titles, among others, of Champlain and New France; Virginia Under the Charter and the Old Dominion; Settlement of Maryland; Massachusetts Bay; The New Netherland; The New Sweden; Connecticut Plantations; with background and settings such as The Growth of Separatism in England, Annexation and Confederation, Puritan and Heretic. Mr. Avery in this volume gives the reader not only in continued and logical sequence the events of the period in question with the pen of a master, but without adding heaviness or prolixity to his results, gives the philosophy and background to the incidents themselves. The author has, as we have before intimated, the eye of an artist, the sentiment of a poet and the thought of a philosopher. These elements are charmingly used as settings and interweaving threads to his historical scenes. Mr. Avery might be justly styled "an artist historian," although in his pages accuracy and truth are never sacrificed for word effects. In no work we have ever read of a similar character has there been such a remarkable combination of the historical imagination and strict adherence to truth. Mr. Avery marshals the cold and literal facts in the warm colors of a word painter.

There are no events in the history of civilization so fraught with tremendous reality and fascinating romance as the story of the initial settlements in America by the varied assortment of races of the Old World. The French, Spaniard, Dutch, Swede and the singularly contrasted elements of the Anglo Saxon, as evidenced in the Cavaliers of Virginia and Maryland, the Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of Massachusetts. The contrasting and conflicting aims and accomplishments of these various colonists are admirably followed and skillfully

unrevealed by Mr. Avery. The author bestows in turn impartial sympathy upon the various efforts of each phase of immigration. His chapter on the Growth of Separatism in England is a lucid and valuable recital of the conditions in England that led to the religious exilement of the Pilgrims and Puritans. The familiar story of the voyage of the *Mayflower* and of its immortal passengers is retold with fresh vigor and clearness. After reciting the famous compact, signed in the cabin as the little vessel lay at anchor in Provincetown Harbor, Mr. Avery says:

Let there be no mistake. We see here no group of philosophic theorists with a vaunted "social compact." But we do see practical men of rare good sense, familiar with the English idea of municipal self-government, with political conceptions widened by life in republican Holland, using a simple covenant to frame a state as, sixteen years before, they had done to form a church. They neither made any laws nor defined the power of any magistrate. The language of the compact, direct and simple as it is, shows traces of the age in which its framers lived. For example, "dread sovereign lord" was simply common legal fiction; "king of France" was sixty-two years behind the truth; and the reference to King James as the "defender of the faith" has been dubbed a grim Pilgrim joke. And yet, "in the cabin of the '*Mayflower*' humanity recovered its rights and instituted government on the basis of equal laws enacted by all the people for the general good." Such is the just verdict of George Bancroft.

God grant that those who tend the sacred flame
May worthy prove of their forefathers' name.

The opportuneness of the time and the relation of the geography of Ohio to Virginia, call our particular attention to his recounting of the settlement at "James Towne."

The favorable reports of the country brought back by Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth attracted the attention of certain "knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers" of London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, who proposed a corporation somewhat similar to the famous East India Company to which Queen Elizabeth had granted a charter. It was natural that English merchants should adapt the corporation to the purposes of colonization, for it was a familiar form of subordinate government that easily lent itself to plans of colonial development. In fact, at that time, the corporation was a necessity to successful colonization. With revenue scant, credit wanting, and corruption prevalent, the government of the

Tudors and the Stuarts was unequal to the task of developing new colonies. On the other hand, ventures like those of Raleigh went to show that such undertakings were beyond the resources of an individual or of a small association of merchants. James I. granted letters patent under which two companies were formed. This charter was the first under which a permanent English settlement was made in America—the beginning of the line of historic American constitutional development.

The year 1607 marks the successful beginning of English colonization in America.

On Saturday, the twentieth of December, 1606, and under sealed orders from the council for Virginia dated ten days before, three small vessels, the "Goodspeed," the "Sarah Constant," and the "Discovery," sailed from Blackwall, England. The little fleet carried forty or fifty sailors and "six score" male emigrants, including fifty-two gentlemen and—a barber. The following summer the Jamestown settlement was planted.

Mr. Avery with faithful devotion to historical accuracy and with probable proof, robs Captain John Smith of the halo of his romantic rescue by Pocahontas. He says:

It was during this month (December, 1607), if at all, that the romantic incident of Pocahontas saving the life of Captain John Smith took place. At the court of Powhatan, Smith was received in royal state and feasted after the Indian fashion as the central figure of a forthcoming execution. After ceremonious hospitality, two large stones were brought in. The captive's head was pillowed on the stones and clubmen stood around ready to play their parts in the expected execution. At such a moment nothing is certain but the unexpected—at least in the realm of dramatic fiction. "Pocahontas, the king's daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save him from death; whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper."

This pretty story of rescue rests solely upon the presentations of Smith's *General Historie of Virginia*, published in 1624, after Pocahontas had been Christianized, lionized, married, and seven years buried. In the earliest printed biography of Smith, Thomas Fuller, a contemporary, says: "It soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds, that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them." The records written by

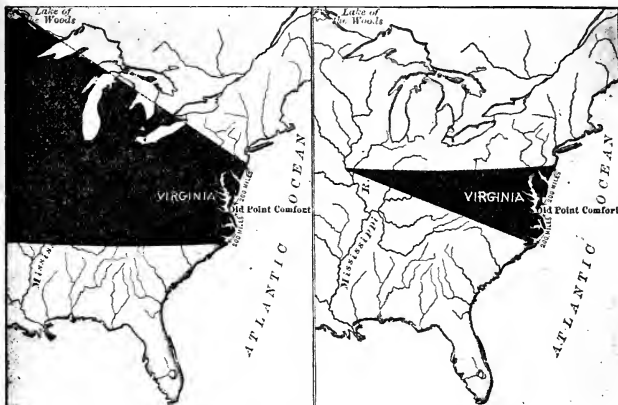
contemporaries contain no allusion to such service by Pocahontas, and the hero's earlier work, *A True Relation*, published in London in 1608, gives a widely different story of his captivity and release. There is a real suspicion that the real source of the story was Smith's characteristic inclination to tell an interesting tale and his natural desire to utilize the interest that the heroine's visit to England had created. Men often mourn as the image-breaking tendency of modern criticism what is in reality only "the correcting and clarifying influence of time." The narrative has been our favorite bit of colonial romance for generations, but many of the later historians refuse to accept it. Like the story of the apocryphal voyage of Vespucci, it has not been absolutely disproved and is not without able and valiant defenders.

As pertinent to early Ohio history, we give the statement from Mr. Avery's account, and the accompanying outline maps showing the two diverse claims to the territory subsequently embraced in Ohio as made from the two interpretations of the original Virginia Charters.

In spite of its voluminous literature, the history of the genesis of the colony is difficult because of the evil that was thrown over the enterprise. Spain claimed the Virginia country, Spanish spies were everywhere, and the London company guarded its transactions with an oath-bound secrecy. The recently published correspondence between the Spanish king and his ambassador at London throws a flood of light on this previously obscure feature of the venture. Zuniga wrote from London to his master that he had found a confidential person through whom he would find out what was done in the Virginia council, and advised that "the bad project should be uprooted now while it can be done so easily." A few weeks later, he wrote: "It will be serving God and your majesty to drive these villains out from there, hanging them in time which is short enough for the purpose."

In spite of the claims of King Philip and the espionage of Zuniga, King James granted a new charter with enlarged privileges. The new company was styled "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of Virginia of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia." The incorporators were fifty-six of the London companies or guilds, such as the company of grocers and the company of butchers, and six hundred and fifty-nine persons mentioned by name in the charter. The latter ranged from the great lords of the realm to the fishmongers. Among them were twenty-one peers, ninety-six knights, twenty-eight esquires, fifty-three captains, fifty-eight

gentlemen, one hundred and ten merchants, representatives of the various professions, and citizens unclassified, an imposing array of wealth and influence. The territory granted by the charter extended along the coast two hundred miles each way from Old Point Comfort and "up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest."



MAP SHOWING TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF 1609 CHARTER.

This peculiar expression, "west and northwest," was wonderfully vague and led to serious controversies. It made a difference which line was drawn northwest. If the northwest line was drawn from the southern end of the four hundred miles of coast, and another boundary line was drawn westward from the northern extremity of the coast, the domain thus limited would constitute a triangle of moderate area. If, on the other hand, one line was drawn westerly from the southern of the two points fixed on the coast and the remaining boundary was drawn northwesterly from the fixed point north of Old Point Comfort, the included territory would embrace a great part of the continent and extend from sea to sea. This was the construction given by Virginia to the language of the charter. The grant of 1606 declared the limits of Virginia to extend from the seashore one hundred miles inland; the charter of 1609 extended the limit westward to the Pacific. The width of the continent in the latitude of Virginia was vaguely supposed to be not much more than a hundred miles. In spite of

his pedantry, King James little understood the hidden meaning of the sea-to-sea extension. Under this charter of 1609, modified by that of 1612, Virginia held until the formation of the federal constitution in 1788.

In reading of Mr. Avery's work we are tempted to halt and linger at particularly important and interesting events. The reader reluctantly leaves his story, which we again commend to both the general reader and the close student. Both the author, Mr. Avery, and his publishers, The Burrows Brothers Company, have embarked upon a stupendous undertaking. This second volume offers indisputable evidence that they are equal to its accomplishment. We know nothing to compare with it in the efforts of American publishers for an American history.

ETNA AND KIRKERSVILLE.

We pass from the stately splendors of Mr. Avery's description of a continent's colonization to the graphic portrayal of the quiet rusticity in the little interior, obscure hamlets of ETNA AND KIRKERSVILLE, Licking County, Ohio,—a charming bit of reminiscent retrospect by Morris Schaff—(Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston and New York, 1905.) This little modest volume of some 138 pages came to our notice as we grazed among the late issues upon the bookseller's counter. The clear and unpretentious style of the author at first caught our eye and then our view was riveted by the interesting sketches of the unimportant and almost insignificant life of the early settlers in Ohio. The author does not deal with great or striking events or distinguished personages. His facile pen draws with artistic touch and poetic sentiment "the simple life" of the pioneer country folk.

The township of Etna was organized in 1833, and is in the extreme southwestern corner of Licking County, Ohio. It is a true rectangle, two and one-half miles wide and a little over eight miles long, stretching due east and west on both sides of the National Road that runs through the middle of it. It is a part of the Refugee Tract, a grant of 100,000 acres donated by Congress in 1798 to citizens of Canada and Nova Scotia who abandoned their settlements in consequence of having given aid to the colonies in the War of the Revolution, allotting to each "in proportion to the degree of their respective services, sacrifices, and sufferings." The Refugee tract is a strip four and one-half miles wide and forty-eight miles long; beginning on the Scioto at Columbus, and running easterly almost to the Muskingum.

The village of Etna, which reposes in the middle of the township and from which it gets its name, was laid out by Lyman Turrell, a Vermonter, in 1832, the lots selling at from \$3.00 to \$5.00 apiece. "If there be

a place in this world that can lay an undisputed claim to being rural if not obscure, I firmly believe it is my native township of Etna. And yet the clouds float over it in beautiful colors, the stars come out joyfully, the dew falls, the corn ripens, and the sun shines sweetly there." Between 1815 and 1825 emigrants poured like a tide into Central Ohio, and by 1830 there were enough settlers in Etna to ask for a local government of their own. Mr. Schaff describes the civil features of the village government in which the justice of the peace was the highest and most important official — and the attainment to which office was the height of the communal ambition. He pictures the administration of justice and the settlement of legal disputations. Mr. Schaff's father came from Belmont County, Ohio, in the winter of 1829 or 1830, and after "declining to buy what is now a part of the great city of Columbus, bought a farm in Etna." Upon that farm on December 29, 1840, the author was born and there spent his early boyhood days until about the age of ten when the family moved to near the village of Kirkersville, which town, some four miles from Etna, was founded about 1831 and was named for Thomas Kirker, acting Governor of Ohio in 1808.

"It would be difficult to portray the simplicity and naturalness of society as it was in Etna when I was a boy, say in 1845 to 1850. There was no class founded on wealth, no one distinguished by either learning, ancestry, achievement, or pretentious estate, — we were all on the same level, wore the same homemade clothes, read or studied in dimly lighted rooms or by the light of wood fires, looked each other in the face when we met at each other's doors, all unconscious of that restless kingdom known as society, and in blessed, happy ignorance of what is now called refinement and culture, and in a perfect freedom from the weakening, tormenting, pessimistic fastidiousness that afflicts modern life. It is true there were the asperities and crudeness of uncut marble about all social life, but viewed in the light of philosophy born of experience and close observation of this drama called life, the conditions might almost appear ideal."

He describes the social life, the establishment of the churches by the different denominations and the rigid lines that separated the various religious beliefs.

"I was present also at the dedication of the Disciples, commonly known as Campbellite church, that stands on the north side of Licking, in the angle formed by York street and the Refugee Road, in 1856. It was a great occasion; for Alexander Campbell, the founder of the church itself, was present, and hundreds of people, old and young, from far and near, came to see that wonderful man. He was very tall, had white bristling hair, worn in the Andrew Jackson style, and very dark, lively black eyes overarched with mantling white eyebrows."

In striking contrast to the ecclesiastical features of this little society was the grandiose military spectacle of the village militia.

"In my early boyhood, about the time of the Mexican War, there

was a militia company in Etna. The hat they wore was very much like, if not an exact copy of, the one worn at West Point, except that it had a white and red pompon somewhat larger than the black one worn by the cadets. In my eyes, as this company paraded west of the schoolhouse in Etna village, they looked like warriors of many a bloody field; and when they came marching along with their flint-lock muskets with savage-looking fixed bayonets,—keeping step to two screaming fifes, the fifers swaying proudly, and a bass drum beaten in lofty style by Henry Neff, a heavy-browed Pennsylvanian, one of the village carpenters,—where is the rustic heart that would not beat fast at such a spectacle of martial glory? Thumping away with great flourishes and casting from time to time a fierce look at us small boys chasing along in bulging-eyed awe, Mr. Neff was something immense. I have seen Generals Scott, Grant, McClellan, Sherman, Sheridan and all the great generals who led the gallant old Army of the Potomac, but none of them were ever half so grand, in my eyes, as Henry Neff marching at the head of the militia company, Captain James Conine commanding.”

Our city high school graduate of to-day would smile at the meagre pedagogical opportunities that Mr. Schaff enjoyed a little more than half a century ago. “The village schoolmaster taught nothing beyond arithmetic, reading, geography, and elementary grammar; he had never had the opportunity to fit himself to teach more. But he had walked the upward winding ways and paths of many virtues,—virtues whose paths and ways are greener than the ways and paths of abstract sciences; he taught us all to tell the truth, to have patience, to have courage, and to be respectful to our elders. He won many a boy’s heart, and he won mine. I used to write to him when I was at West Point, and more than once, as I walked my post in the dead hours of night, I remembered him, and wished that, when the day came for me to graduate, he might be present and share my pleasure.”

Mr. Schaff, with an intense love of nature inborn and deeply fostered by his early environment and with the sympathy and the poetic feeling that reminds us of Thoreau, describes the forests, the fields, the trees, the banks and the runs, the swamps and their borders, the flowers and the birds and the game of those early days. “There is nothing so everlastingly and sweetly companionable as brooks and country roads. And in the mind of the farmer’s boy who aimlessly wanders along their winding banks, or barefooted, hatless, and oftentimes coatless, loiters along their dusty way, what seeds of delicious memories they sow! He never forgets the shallow fishing-hole with its little poisoning-dace, nor does he forget the silent, outstretching old road with its barways leading into quiet pastures, its roadside bushes and persistent flowers, the vagrant thistle with its royally tinted and girded bloom where bumble-bees, idler than himself, bury themselves in dreamy sleep, and where the little yellow-bird feeds. when autumn comes on, mounting thence as he draws too near, and

throwing back cheerily to him its delicately undulating notes. Yes, brooks, lanes, and country roads, you carry mankind's sweetest memories."

Mr. Schaff refers to the famous Bloody Run Swamp. "The head of this swamp, now practically all cleared fields, when I was a boy was about a half mile east of Kirkersville and reached to the old bed of Licking Creek, a distance of two and a half miles. It was about a half mile wide and was a thickly matted growth of willows, young elms, water beeches and alders. In the middle were several islands covered with big timber where the last of the wild turkeys roosted. Except in winter, when it was frozen over, it was difficult, and when the Bloody Run was high, it was dangerous to penetrate it, so deep and treacherous was the mud. I have no doubt that it was made originally by beavers damming Bloody Run, and later widely extended by the accumulation of heavy drifts in Licking."

This swamp, long since disappeared, was in its day fraught with historic memories. "Christopher Gist, the first white man, except captives among the Indians passed by the swamp in 1751. In his diary he says he camped at the Big Lake, now the Reservoir, and on the 15th of May 'set out from the Great Swamp'."

Of the prehistoric features of his native village, Mr. Schaff says: "So far as I know there is but one prehistoric relic in the town, and that is in the Hampton woods, on the Fairfield line, and marked by a circle on the map. It is a small circular fort, with walls about three feet high and about thirty feet in diameter. In my day it was in the heart of heavy oak timber, just on the divide between the waters flowing north to the Licking Valley and those bearing off to the southwest to find their way into Poplar Creek, and then on to the Scioto. It is easy to speculate over its location, and the reasons in the minds of its builders and defenders; but it has occurred to me that perhaps the mound builders of Circleville, on their way to the old fort at Newark, came up the Scioto to the mouth of Big Belly, thence up the Walnut to the mouth of Poplar Creek, which they followed in their canoes to the swamp at its head, within a few miles of this spot. Somewhere on their line of portage to Licking a defense of some kind may have been necessary, and maybe that was the reason for its location; or it may have been thrown up during a campaign.

Perhaps the most valuable feature of Mr. Schaff's little volume is his account of the projection and building of the National Road, the Appian Way of the early Middle West.*

"In the first place, long before a pioneer traversed the woods, the Indians were coming and going from one hunting-ground to another; and before them the mound-builders, and before the mound-builders, the

* A very complete and admirable account of the building of this road written by Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert will be found in the 9th volume of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical publications.

buffalo. Starting then with the latter, we have the prairie meadows on the Darby plains west of and about Columbus, and at Gratiot and along the Muskingum salt wells or salt licks, where the buffalo and elk would go in great numbers from their feeding grounds. Would they not naturally follow the South Fork, going east after crossing the divide of Black Lick? Besides, it is the very shortest line of travel. Again, the early surveys of the National Road show an ancient mound on the east bank of the Big Walnut, where it is crossed by the National Road. This mound was built and the country around it occupied in all probability about the same time as the celebrated works at Newark. Would not the people of these communities visit back and forth, and would they not follow the trails the buffalo had already made through the forest? Furthermore, the beaver dam on the Heffner, now the Essex farm, to be mentioned more particularly later, would it not draw the Indians going from Black Lick and Big Walnut to the hunting-ground around the great Bloody Run Swamp? And what was more, Flint Ridge, in the eastern part of the county, lies almost due east and on the very line of the old road, where for ages the Indians got the material for their flints; would it not draw them for many a mile, just as the salt licks on the other side of it drew the buffalo and elk? Moreover, and above all, for man and beast it offered the only easy passage between Bloody Run Swamp, Bloody Run, and the South Fork of Licking. These are all mere guesses, but I think fairly well based on plausible theories. But however all this may be, the most of the pioneers of Etna came in over this old 'Hebron' dirt road, a glorious passageway beneath majestic timber."

"The present generation, save those reared along it, are completely ignorant of its history, and therefore cannot realize how great a part this highway played in the nation's early life."

"To fully appreciate its national importance, it must be borne in mind that in the early days of our country the commerce of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, obeying the law of commercial gravity, was finding its markets down the Mississippi, and that there was wide and deep political discontent over the indifference of New England and the middle coast states to the welfare of the West; and so rapidly were these alienating forces increasing, that the chances are that, had its construction been delayed twenty years, the West would have broken from the East, and organized an independent government with the capital at Louisville, St. Louis, or New Orleans."

"At once on its completion as far as the Ohio River, a mighty tide of emigration set in, as though a magic bugle had been heard from the river's banks, or from the top of the Alleghanies. High and low, and everywhere among the mountains and down over the misty Blue Ridge of old Virginia, the people heard of it, and with a better faith than that of the Crusaders, teams were harnessed, the household property of manor-houses as well as of many a cabin was packed, a good-by was waved to the old home, and off they started for the National Road."

"Built as it was by the government, brushing the mighty trees out of its path as though they were reeds, carrying its level high over ravines and marshes and surging creeks, cutting boldly down through hills, marching on mile after mile, it possessed then, as it possesses now, the mysterious power of statehood; making every one who traveled it feel that in no sense was he an intruder, but inspiring him, on the contrary, with a feeling of self-respect and a lofty national pride. It was called the National and United States Road, and brought the government as a concrete reality for the first time to the immigrants, and sons of the Revolutionary soldiers. It is interesting to imagine the expression on their faces, as, emerging from some narrow, winding, grass-grown, muddy country road, this great highway broke on their vision for the first time. Its royal breadth; its bridges of cut stone spanning the runs and creeks, their guards carried up three and a half feet, with a wide, heavy coping; its defiance of every obstacle, and the obvious thoroughness of its construction and disregard of expense, must have made their simple hearts beat fast. The falling in, too, with people from all quarters of the country must have had a quickening effect on the natures of these children of provincialism, born in little, isolated, secluded cabins. It must have been like a draught of champagne to them when they met the stages, heard their echoing horns, and caught for the first time that look of superiority and indifference which personages of average importance are likely to assume when traveling on stages or in Pullman cars. Surely, as they trudged on in their surprise and exultation, the National Road must have seemed to them, not an ordinary highway, but something endowed with might. But a youthful spirit, the genius of the land, was walking at their side, and as the stages dashed westward, with kindling hopes and animated faces they followed on."

"As soon as the road was located, the land all along it was rushed into the market in lots to suit purchasers. Some bought whole sections, others a few acres, and with almost magical speed the woods were peopled. The building of the road itself gave employment to many men and teams, as all the stone for bridges and for macadamizing had to be hauled from quarries eight or ten miles distant. It must have been a busy scene, as the road made its way between Kirkersville and Etna. The axemen went first, cutting a swath eighty feet wide through the timber; others, as fast as the trees fell, cut them into logs which teams dragged off to one side. Men then grubbed around the huge stumps till they could be pried up, when they followed their magnificent trunks, to rot under the shade of their more fortunate fellows. Then came ploughs and scrapers, till the grading was done. Hundreds of men found employment, and under their labor the road almost walked across the land. Often when we boys could get our mother into a reminiscent mood (how provoking aged people are who have had thrilling experiences; and sailors and soldiers, too, who have seen real war and have behaved with courage, — how provoking they are to children in letting go only in little

dribblets of what is so interesting in their lives!), when we could induce the dear old lady to tell about those days, how delightful was her story! She would tell us how the camp-fires of the workmen lighted up the night all along the line; about the bustle, the teams coming and going, and on Sundays the drunken carousals and rioting; and finally the awful death of so many of them by the scourge of cholera which swept the entire country. Well, we never wanted to hear much about the funeral processions that were remembered so distinctly, while our mother never remembered half enough about the fights to suit us."

"As fast as the road was completed the stream of emigrants—we called them 'movers'—began, which, for over thirty years, poured along it. My remembrance begins about 1845 or 1846, and at that time and till 1852 the stream that had set in in 1830 poured on. I do not believe that from the last of March till the snow began to fall, the farmer's boy ever looked off from the fields to the road that his eye did not fall on the white canvass-covered wagons of the movers."

Here is the stage time-table for the winter arrangement of 1835-6.

"The Mail Pilot Line leaves Columbus for Wheeling daily at 6 A. M., reaching Zanesville at 1 P. M. and Wheeling at 6 A. M. next morning.

"The Good Intent Line leaves Columbus for Wheeling daily at 6 P. M.; through in 20 hours to Wheeling (127 miles), in time for stages for Baltimore and Philadelphia."

"What would I not give to witness once more the arrival of the stage at 'Kirk.' Lo! the vanished past is beckoning, and behold, I am on the broad porch of the Kirkersville tavern, and I hear the rumble of a stage coming through the covered bridge at the east end of the town. There the horn blows and it is coming at a round gait. The seats on top are full, and a young lad, one about my own age, sits up there, on easy terms with his elders. What a fortunate boy! It is the great southwestern mail. A fresh, glistening team—big roans—emerges from the wide-open door of the old, low, whitewashed, broad-fronted tavern barn, and steps grandly forward, ready to replace the incoming team. The usual crowd of stable boys and idle loungers are standing around; townspeople and those who have come in to trade gather also, for the arrival of the stage is the one important event in the life of Kirkersville. Uncle Davy Neiswonder, a middle-sized man with rubicund, attractive countenance, his hair as white as snow, contrasting well with his rosy cheeks, appears, hat in hand, to welcome the guests or exchange greetings with the passengers. The stage rolls up at a swinging trot, the driver, Frank Jackson, grim and dignified, draws up his leaders; their breasts are white with foam from champing bits, and from their panting sides perspiration rises in feathery steam; he throws down the lines, stable boys fly to unhitch, the bay team moves off proudly, the fresh relay team wheels into their places, the lines are tossed up to the driver, who gathers them

and calls out, 'Let them go'; and the superb roan leaders, that have been prancing, waiting for the word, dash off."

But after all Kirkersville attained to something more than local fame.

"It was in the summer of 1865, just after the end of the Great Rebellion, when I was stationed at Watertown arsenal near Boston. Colonel Kingsbury, our commanding officer, was a classmate of General Sherman; and when the latter came to Boston, he hurried out to the arsenal to see his old cadet friend. During the visit our Colonel gave him a fine dinner, to which all of us young bachelors were invited. While at the table Sherman, who talked as usual most familiarly and interestingly, said to Major Shunk who sat just opposite me, 'Well, Major, I knew your father, Governor Shunk of Pennsylvania,' and after some inquiries in regard to the Major's family, turned his emitting dark brown eyes on me and asked in his customary direct manner, 'Well, Captain, where are you from?' Whereupon all the youngsters lowered their eyes into their plates with the broadest grins, for only a short time before Major Shunk, in buying a series of maps, had told the book agent that he would take them, that he found them sufficiently minute in their delineation as they gave Kirkersville, and they had had the usual fun out of it. With some embarrassment I answered, 'General, I have the honor to come from the adjoining county to yours. You are from Fairfield, I am from Licking; but I don't suppose you ever heard of my town—it's Kirkersville.' 'Kirkersville!' exclaimed Sherman with enthusiasm, 'Kirkersville! Why, I've been there many a time. I know it well; it had the biggest pigeon roost in the world,' and he brought his hand down with a bang. I wore a smile of triumph as I looked up and down the table."

And here Mr. Schaff proudly calls attention to a little map in his book in which is presented a circle with a radius of twenty miles of which Kirkersville is the centre and within the circumference of which circle there were born or during their lives resided sixteen characters of more or less national renown. Among them were Generals W. T. Sherman, P. H. Sheridan, W. T. Rosecrans, Irwin McDowell, S. R. Curtis, Charles Griffin, C. R. Woods and B. W. Brice; Justice W. B. Woods of the United State Supreme Court, Senator Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, Samuel S. Cox, member of Congress, Willard Warner, United States Senator from Alabama, James F. Wilson of Iowa, James B. Howell, United States senator from Iowa, and Thomas Ewing, the distinguished orator governor of Ohio.

ANCIENT INDIAN GIANTS.

The *Baltimore American* is responsible for the following interesting article concerning what it designates as prehistoric Indian giants.

Gigantic skeletons of prehistoric Indians, nearly eight feet tall, have been discovered along the banks of the Choptank River, Maryland, by

employes of the Maryland Academy of Science. The remains are at the Academy's building, in Franklin Street, where they are being articulated and restored by the Academy expert, John Widgeon, colored. They will be placed on public exhibition early in the fall.

The collection comprises eight skeletons, of which some are women and children. They are not all complete, but all the larger bones have been found, and there is at least one complete specimen of an adult man. The excavations were in progress for months, and the discovery is considered one of the most important, from the standpoint of anthropology, in Maryland in a number of years. The remains are believed to be at least one thousand years old. The formation of the ground above and the location of the graves give evidence of this. During the excavations the remains of camps of later Indians were revealed. These consisted of oyster shell heaps, charred and burned earth and fragments of cooking utensils. These discoveries were made fully ten feet above the graves which contained the gigantic skeletons.

There have been other discoveries in Maryland of remains of men of tremendous stature. A skeleton was discovered at Ocean City several years ago which measured a fraction over seven feet, six inches. This skeleton was interred in a regular burying mound, and beads manufactured by white men were found upon it. This dead Indian was probably one of the tribe mentioned by Captain John Smith, who, in July, 1608, made a voyage of exploration of the Chesapeake Bay.

In speaking of Indians in the history which he subsequently wrote, Captain Smith said of this tribe, called *Susquehanocks*: "But to proceed, sixty of these *Susquehanocks* came to us with skins, bowes, arrowes, targets, beads, swords and tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well-proportioned men are seldom seen, for they seemed like giants to the English, yes, and to the neighbors, yet seemed an honest and simple disposition, and with much adoe were restrained from adoring us as gods. These are the strangest people of all these countries, both in language and attire, for their language it may well become their proportions, sounding from them as a voice in a vault.

"Their attire is the skinnnes of beares and wolves, some have cos-sacks made of beare's heads and skinnnes that a man's head goes through the skinnnes neck and the eares of the bear fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging down his breast, another beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a pawe, the halfe sleeves coming to the elbows were the necks and beares and the arms through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses.

"One had the head of a wolfe hanging in a chaine for a jewel, his tobacco pipe three-quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deare or some such device, at the great end sufficient to beat out one's braines; with bowes, arrowes and clubs suitable to their greatness. These are scarce known to Powhattan. They can make near 600 able men and are pallisaeded in their towns to defend them from the *Massowmecks*, their

mortal enemies. Five of their chief Werowances came aboard us and crossed the bay in their barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the mappe.

"The calfe of whose leg was three-quarters of a yard about, and all of the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other close shore, with a ridge over his crown like a cockes comb. His arrows were five quarters long, headed with the splinters of a white crystal like stone, in forme of a heart an inch broad and an inch and a half long or more. These he wore in a wooleves skinne at his back for a quiver, his bowe in the one hand and his clubbe in the other as is described."

An evidence which seems to bear out the supposition that the skeletons found are of the same tribe was that one of the skulls found had a large heart-shaped arrow imbedded in it.

At the point on the Choptank where the remains were found there are steep shelving cliffs of sand and gravel that extend to the water's edge. Beneath this bank is a layer of marl. The graves are in the sand a few feet above the hard marl, and have deposits of between twenty and thirty feet of sand and gravel above them. A peculiar feature of the discovery is the charred state of the bones of the women and children. This seems to indicate that the ancient Indians cremated the bodies of all except their warriors. The wet resting place of the bones for so many centuries has made them very soft and fragile, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they were removed.

The work was done under the supervision of Widgeon, who has done most of the collecting for the Academy for a number of years. Since his work on the Choptank he has been to the West Indies and made a splendid collection of several thousand specimens of insects, which Prof. Uhler has at his home and which he is classifying.

HISTORY OF SERPENT MOUND.

Late in the fall of 1905 the Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society at the request of the trustees of the society prepared a little volume of 125 pages entitled, "THE SERPENT MOUND, ADAMS COUNTY, OHIO. The mystery of the mound and history of the serpent. Various theories of the effigy mounds and the mound builders." This monograph was published by the society in cloth and paper editions which are sold at prices of 50c and \$1.00 for paper and cloth binding respectively. The author who has made many visits during the past few years to the mound, has been more and more impressed with its mystery and significance. Archæologists who have given the matter attention have pretty generally agreed that it must have been built for purposes of

worship. It may have been the great religious temple of the mound builders for the Ohio Valley. The book gives a full account of the rescue of the mound from destruction, by Prof. F. W. Putnam, the eminent American archæologist of Cambridge, Mass. Professor Putnam succeeded in interesting some worthy and philanthropic ladies of Boston who purchased the property, restored it and presented it to the Peabody Museum. The latter institution subsequently transferred it to the trustees of Harvard University who in turn (1900) deeded it to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society under whose care and control it now remains. This wonderful and awe-inspiring relic of the mound builders is the greatest of its kind in magnitude and mystery in the entire territory in which the mound builders of America seemed to have found field for their strange monuments. In this volume the author gives not only a complete and accurate description of the serpent but also the various theories advanced by the leading archæological writers and students upon its origin, age and use. A large portion of the volume is further devoted to the worship of the serpent, perhaps the primal form of worship in the most primitive stage of nearly every race. The little volume has met with a most welcome reception not only by students and scholars but the general reader who is interested in the curious and inexplicable. The author has devoted much careful attention to the literature on the worship of the serpent and has consulted nearly all of the authorities now accessible upon this fascinating subject. The mound was first described by Squier and Davis in their monumental volume on the mounds of the Mississippi Valley and which was published about 1848 under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute. The monthly publication known as *RECORDS OF THE PAST*, published in Washington, D. C., and edited by Professor G. Frederick Wright and Mr. Frederick Bennett Wright, in its April number presents a very complete and complimentary review of the book, reproducing many of its illustrations. In conclusion the reviewer says: "Much could be written as to the various theories held by different people, but a very good idea has been given by Mr. Randall of the most commonly accepted theory by the persons who have studied the subject carefully. Altogether this little book is the most authoritative treatise upon the Serpent Mound of Ohio which we have seen, and we can confidently recommend it to the circle of readers of the *RECORDS OF THE PAST*."

THE OHIO CANALS.

Another volume issued by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society late in the fall of 1905 and which has not yet been noticed in the pages of the *Quarterly* is the "HISTORY OF THE OHIO CANALS; their construction, cost, use and partial abandonment." This volume containing some 200 pages is the result of the studies of two post-graduate

students of the Ohio State University, Mr. C. P. McClelland and Mr. C. C. Huntington, working under the direction of Professor J. E. Hagerty of the Department of Political Science and Economics, Ohio State University, and by whom the preface is written. In an introductory note by the Secretary of the Society it is said: "This monograph does not attempt, of course, to discuss in any way the question of the policy of the State as to the retention or abandonment of the canals. The purpose has simply been to put forth in concise and accurate manner all the data necessary for a thorough understanding of the constructive, financial and economic history of the Ohio canals."

Probably no other single publication presents in so concise and complete a manner all the information concerning the various features of the history and construction and use of the canals as does this volume. It treats exhaustively of the cost to the state, method of raising the money, manner of building, extent of traffic and travel upon the same; the industrial and economic effect, both direct and indirect, upon the state. There are complete tables of the financial features of the canals, rates of toll and so on for each successive year from 1827 to the present time. An excellent map of the Ohio canals, proposed, existing and abandoned, drawn by Mr. A. H. Sawyer of the Canal Commissioner's office accompanies the little volume. For many years there has been a great demand for the varied information which this little volume supplies. It is sold by the society at the prices of 50 cents and \$1.00 for paper and cloth editions respectively.

ELECTRIC RAILROAD TO SERPENT MOUND.

We have received a prospectus setting forth the proposed electric railroad which is to be built from Hillsboro, Highland County, through Peebles and West Union, Adams County, to Aberdeen, Brown County, and touching at many intervening towns. This project particularly interests the members and friends of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, as the road will pass the entrance of the Serpent Mound Park, thereby rendering Serpent Mound accessible in a manner which has never before existed. As it is now it can be reached only by vehicle travel from Peebles, the nearest railway station some six miles distant. Inconvenient as its location now is, hundreds visit it each year but with the proposed methods of approach the number of visitors will be vastly increased and the interest taken in this wonderful pre-historic monument will be greatly extended. Those of a highly sentimental and poetic temperament may be somewhat "shocked" if indeed they do not lament, that this curious earth structure of a vanished race is to be a side station of the electric currents of modern rapid transit. But the advance of modern conveniences is no respecter of persons, existing or extinct. It is a far cry from the centuries ago when the Mound Builders

erected their temple on the hilltop to the day of the traction car. But that car like the one of Juggernaut is the irresistible chariot of the present that ruthlessly rolls over the veneration for the past.

The pamphlet prospectus in question devotes several pages to the history and description of the mound and properly presents it as one of the leading features which will make the proposed traction line a valuable and paying institution. The pamphlet is published at Peebles, Ohio, by the Hillsboro, Belfast and Peebles Promoters' Company. It can be secured for the asking by addressing Mr. P. M. Hughes, president of the Company, Lovett, Ohio, Mr. W. B. Cochran, secretary of the company, Hillsboro, Ohio, or Mr. S. M. Rucker, one of the directors, Peebles, Ohio.

NYE FAMILY REUNION AT MARIETTA.

We have received through the courtesy of Miss Minna Tupper Nye of Brooklyn, New York, a handsomely published pamphlet of 100 pages or more giving the proceedings of the third annual reunion of the Nye Family of America, held at Marietta, Ohio, August 16, 17 and 18, 1905. Benjamin Nye of Bedlenden, Kent county, England, was the first to come to America as early as 1637. His numerous descendants are now in every state and territory of our country. Among the first pioneers into the Ohio valley after the Revolution were Ichabod Nye of Tolland, Connecticut, a soldier of the Revolution, with his family. They settled in Marietta in 1788 where Mr. Nye resided until his death in 1840. From the descendants of this early settler a very cordial invitation was extended to the Nye Family Association to hold the third annual reunion in Marietta. The eight branches of the Ichabod family are scattered from the Mediterranean Sea to the Pacific Ocean and yet not one of these branches failed in showing their loyalty and devotion by contributing in some way to the entertainment. Great interest was sustained throughout all the meetings. The leading citizens of Marietta joined with the family in extending hospitality to the visiting guests. Mr. James W. Nye of Marietta was the local chairman and a most interesting and successful program was carried out. Mr. James W. Nye welcomed his family guests with a most pleasing and appropriate address in which he said: "On the walls at the relic room, hangs a banner bearing the following inscription, taken from an address delivered here in 1888: 'The paths from the heights of Abraham led to Independence Hall. Independence Hall led finally to Yorktown, and Yorktown guided the footsteps of your fathers to Marietta. This, my countrymen, then, is the lesson which I read here.' This refers to the little band of stalwart men and brave women, who in 1788, left their New England homes, and turning their faces westward, journeyed by the crude means then in use, in search of new homes, in the then unknown wilds of the territory northwest of the

Ohio river, this locality being their objective point." In that initial band of Ohio pilgrims were General Benjamin Tupper, born at Sharon, Massachusetts, in 1738, one of the directors of the Ohio Company, and Colonel Ichabod Nye, born at Tolland, Connecticut, in 1762. Mr. S. Curtis Smith of Newton, Massachusetts, responded to the address of welcome. Mr. George Nye of Chillicothe, Ohio, the oldest living member of the Ichabod Nye family, (78) prepared a paper for this occasion entitled, "The Ohio Company." Miss Martha Sproat of Chillicothe, Ohio, read a paper written by Miss Theodore D. Dale of Montclair, New Jersey, on Marietta. Hon. David J. Nye of Elyria, Ohio, delivered a very interesting and instructive address on the "Beginnings of Ohio." Mr. William L. Nye of Sandwich, Massachusetts, read an excellent paper upon "Sandwich" which was the first settling town in the southeast corner of Massachusetts of the first Nye immigrant in 1637. Miss Minna Tupper Nye read an extended sketch of Minerva Tupper Nye, wife of Ichabod Nye, the pioneer who was her (Minna's) grandmother. Minerva Tupper Nye was born in Chesterfield, Massachusetts, in 1764, the daughter of General Benjamin Tupper, a noted soldier of the Revolution. In 1784 she was married in Chesterfield to Ichabod Nye, a young soldier of the Revolution. When in 1788 General Tupper brought his family to the New Ohio, with him as part of his family came Ichabod Nye, his wife, Minerva, and their small children, Horace, 2 year old, and Panthea, aged six months. The journey of this family from Chesterfield, which they left in June, to Marietta, which they reached on the 6th of July (1788) is described in detail by Miss Minna Nye from the journals and letters of the participants. The paper is a unique contribution to early Ohio History.

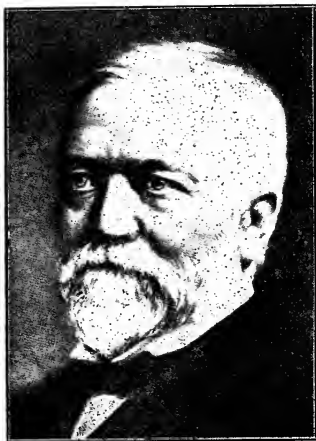
Mrs. Sarah M. McGirr of Marietta presented a paper concerning her great-grandfather, Ebenezer Nye, a pioneer of Marietta in 1790. Many other papers were read and addresses made and the proceedings were interspersed with musical selections and social gatherings. The third reunion of the Nye family at Marietta was an event of much historical importance and we do not know of any monograph that will excel this pamphlet of the proceedings, in giving a first hand view of the termination at Marietta of that second Mayflower voyage, the journey of the galley Adventure which came to port on the eventful day of April 8, 1788.



STANTON —THE PATRIOT.*

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

At Gambier, Ohio, April 26, (1906) there occurred an event deserving of more than a passing notice. It was the occasion of the presentation to Kenyon College, by Colonel John J. McCook of New York, one of the Ohio Family of the famous "fighting McCooks,"



ANDREW CARNEGIE.

of an oil portrait of Edwin M. Stanton, who was a student at Kenyon. The painting was from the brush of the distinguished artist Charles P. Filson, Steubenville, Ohio. At the same time formal announcement was made by Mr. Andrew Carnegie of the creation of an endowment by him of the Edwin M. Stanton Chair of Political Economy at Kenyon. Mr. Carnegie was present and delivered the address upon the great war secretary, whom he had known, admired and in his early career served. It was the heartfelt tribute of the "American Iron Master," the greatest Captain of Industry of his day to the "Man of Iron Will," the

"right arm" of Lincoln in the time of our nation's greatest peril. It is proper to recall a few items concerning the author of the address. Mr. Carnegie came with his family in 1848 from his Scotch home to Allegheny, Pa. He was then ten years of age and began as a bobbin-boy at twenty cents a day. His faithfulness soon promoted him to the engine room, where he had an opportunity to acquire arithmetic and penmanship and do some clerical work. He was next a telegraph messenger boy at Pittsburgh, with a mother and brother to support from his slender wages. He promptly mastered telegraphy and was given a place as

* See Stanton Day, Vol. VI, p 318, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Publications.

operator and won himself extra earnings and experience in composition as a newspaper telegraph reporter. Superior fitness brought him to the post of telegraph train dispatcher to the Pennsylvania Railroad, then secretary to the general superintendent, Colonel Thomas A. Scott, and in 1860, when his chief became Vice President, Mr. Carnegie was made superintendent of the Western Division. Meantime he had invested some borrowed money and his own saved earnings in the Woodruff sleeping car system which proved successful and the profits went into oil lands around Oil City. This proved a sagacious investment. At the outbreak of the war, Colonel Scott was made Assistant Secretary of War and gave Mr. Carnegie charge of the eastern military railroads and telegraph lines. This position brought him in personal contact with Mr. Stanton. In 1862 the Pennsylvania road's experiments in replacing wooden with iron bridges permitted Mr. Carnegie to forecast the future monopoly of the iron and steel industries and he organized the Keystone Bridge Works, which built the first iron bridge across the Ohio River. In 1868 he was the chief factor in importing the Bessemer steel process to the United States from England. The enormous American steel manufacturing system was the result. In 1899 Mr. Carnegie consolidated all the great steel companies into one giant structure and in 1901 retired from business life, transferring his company at the valuation of \$500,000,000 into a combination still vaster, the United States Steel Corporation. Mr. Carnegie, the second richest man in the United States, decided to devote his remaining years and the bulk of his fortune to the benefit of humanity. His benefactions surpass those of anyone in history. He has already donated in the neighborhood of one hundred and fifty millions to the cause of education and philanthropy, embracing in his gifts a score of different influences that make for the betterment of mankind.—E. O. R.

Stanton, the Patriot, Kenyon's most illustrious son, came of good kith and kin, born as he was of sturdy Quaker stock. His grandfather emigrated from Massachusetts to North Carolina before the Revolution in 1774, and he dying there his widow emigrated in 1800 to the Northwestern Territory because it was dedicated to freedom. The grandfather wished to manumit his slaves before leaving Massachusetts, but this being illegal, he left them under the protection of a guardian to see that they were not misused. The Stantons settled at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. The son David, father of our subject, was an able physician in Steubenville, a strong abolitionist, laboring even in that early day to impress his fellows with the wrongfulness of slavery.

At thirteen, Edwin was fortunately employed in a book-

store, so that access to books was assured: probably one of the most important factors in determining his future career. One of his schoolmates, John Harper, whom I knew well in Pittsburgh, tells us of young Stanton's fondness for poetry and his greed for books.

Stanton is, so far as I know, the youngest library-founder known to history. His schoolfellow, Squire Gallagher, reports that before he was thirteen he started a circulating library where books were regularly exchanged among the boys. The boy was father to the man, for leadership, somewhat imperious, yet never combative nor abusive, was clearly his.

While engaged in the book-store he devoted his evenings under Rev. Mr. Buchanan preparing for admission to Kenyon, which received him in his seventeenth year (1831). It is melancholy to read that he was compelled to leave after his junior year for want of means, but poverty has its advantages in training men. He returned to his former employer who sent him to take charge of a bookstore in Columbus, Ohio, where he met his future wife. Too poor to marry then, the young lovers waited some years, true to each other. Never was there a more devoted husband. He owed much to his wife.

The two years spent at college were formative years. When secession first reared its head and Jackson uttered the immortal words, "The Union must and shall be preserved," even then to the young man here at college in his teens, this was the bugle call.

In 1825, finding the Union endangered, notwithstanding his father's opposition to Jackson and firm adherence to Clay and Adams, he sank all other issues and ardently supported Jackson, much to the regret of many of his best friends. Patriot at eighteen, patriot always, the needle not truer to the pole than Stanton to the Union.

He soon qualified for the law, became prosecuting attorney, and in his twenty-third year had built up a lucrative practice. He removed to Pittsburgh in 1847 and it was there in his early prime that I, as telegraph messenger boy, had the pleasure of seeing him frequently, proud to get his nod of recognition, as I sometimes stopped him on the street or entered his office to

deliver a message. A vigorous, energetic and concentrated man, always intent upon the subject in hand, he had nothing of Lincoln's humor and ability to laugh; he was ever deeply serious. None stood higher than he in his profession, but it is in the realm of statesmanship that his services became so commanding as to give him place among the fathers of the Republic. He remained a Democrat, yet a Free Soiler, true to the anti-slavery traditions of his family. His removal to Washington brought him much business and for some years little time was paid to politics.

The election of Lincoln drew President Buchanan into serious negotiations with the Southern leaders with whom, as a Democrat, he was in sympathy. He soon felt the need of a strong constitutional lawyer to steer the ship of state aright, since Attorney-General Black had been appointed Secretary of State to succeed General Cass. His choice fell upon Stanton, who abandoned a lucrative legal practice at the call of duty. Dangers were brewing fast around his beloved country, and he was needed to defend the Union. On the twentieth of December, 1860, the very day Stanton entered the Cabinet South Carolina declared the Union dissolved. The boy patriot of eighteen who had rallied to Jackson's call was revealed to an anxious country in his manhood as again the Jacksonian apostle, to teach South Carolina and all the other states that followed her, and all the world for all time thereafter, that the Union "must and shall be preserved."

There are many remarkable things in Stanton's life. I venture to point out what seems to me a wonderful coincidence. Lincoln, as a youth, saw a slave auction on the Mississippi, and there and then resolved that if he ever got a chance he would "hit the accursed thing hard." His time came and he was privileged to emancipate the last slaves in a civilized land. So Stanton, changing his political party while in his teens at the call of the Union, in manhood changes the policy of his party and banishes disunion forever. For this he is destined to live in American history as one whose services to the Republic in her darkest hour rank in value with those of the foremost early fathers: Franklin, Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Jackson and

Lincoln. No lower place can be assigned him than in that circle. Washington must ever stand alone—father among these worthy sons.

There are few more deeply interesting episodes in our history than that of Judge Black's conversion to Stanton's views. It will be remembered that as attorney-general, Nov. 20th, 1860, he gave the President his opinion that he could not constitutionally use military force for any purpose whatever within the limits of a state where there were no United States judges, marshals, or other civil officers, and there were none in South Carolina, the Federal officials having resigned. This led to prolonged negotiations between the agents of the Southern states and the President and his Cabinet, all tending to a peaceful dissolution of the Union.

General Cass, Secretary of State, loyal to the Union, resigned because the president refused to reinforce the Southern forts. Meanwhile Secretary of State Black, and Stanton, who was then only a private citizen, had been in deep and earnest consultation, and Black took Cass's place only on condition that Stanton be made his successor. The reason was soon clear. Black had changed his views, as he explained seven years after: he and Stanton had reached perfect accord on all questions, whether of law or policy. It is readily seen how this concord was attained. The true Jacksonian, ever holding as the prime duty the preservation of the Union as an indissoluble union of indissoluble states, had shown his elder brother that he was wrong and inspired him with the intense loyalty he himself possessed. Black says early in December he "notified the President of his change of view and handed him a memorandum for his private use." Here is an extract: "The Union is necessarily perpetual. No state can lawfully withdraw or be expelled from it. The Federal Constitution is as much a part of the constitution of every state as if it had been textually inserted therein." This is Stantonese. Black had seen a great light between November and December.

It would have been well had he consulted Stanton before giving his opinion of the previous month, which brought Buchanan to the verge of treason. Fortunately for our country,

Black remained at Stanton's side in this crisis and rendered great service. He deserves to have his mistake forgiven and forgotten. It was one which a lifelong Democrat might be pardoned for making. I knew more than one excellent public-



EDWIN M. STANTON.

spirited man in the circle of my friends who could not reconcile himself to the use of force against his fellows of the South, with whom his personal and political relations had been cordial. The "depart in peace" policy had many sympathetic adherents among such men.

Major Anderson's removal from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter created a contest which raged for three days in the Cabinet. Was the demand of South Carolina, that he be ordered back to Moultrie, to be granted or denied? Secretary of War Floyd claimed that the President had committed himself by a promise that the *status quo* should not be disturbed, which Anderson's movement certainly did. He prepared a letter to which Black, Stanton, and Holt objected. On the following Sunday, Black informed the President that if the letter was delivered he would resign. Stanton had never wavered in his position. The moment the demand that Fort Sumter be evacuated was made, he told the Cabinet that "its surrender by the Government would be a crime equal to that of Arnold, and that all who participated in the act should be hung like André." Judge Holt, a member of the Cabinet, speaking from his own knowledge, tells us that Stanton also declared in the face of the President that a president who signed such an order would be guilty of treason. The President raised his hand deprecatingly, saying: "Not so bad as that, my friend, not so bad as that."

Judge Holt's tribute to Stanton reveals what the Republic owes to its defenders. He says, "His loyalty to the Union cause was a passion. He could not open his lips on the subject without giving utterance to the strongest expressions. He never changed from first to last in his devotion to his country nor in the resolute manner in which he asserted and upheld his convictions." The decision of the Cabinet, upon which the sovereignty of the Republic over all its ports depended, hung for several days in the balance. The President finally sided with the loyalists. Stanton first reclaimed Judge Black, the Secretary of State, before entering the Cabinet, and after he did enter, the two men, with Judge Holt, Secretary of War, prevailed upon the President to change his policy. History records in unmistakable terms that the chief antagonist of the policy of submission to the disunionists, and inspirer in the Cabinet of loyalty to the Union as against secession, was the patriot, Stanton.

His policy having been agreed to, instead of resting content he began to urge the president to prepare for the worst, holding that "preparation could do no possible harm in any event.

and, in the event of that which seems to be most likely, it is the country's only chance of salvation."

There was soon thrust upon him the duty of conferring with the leaders of the Republican party and preparing for a peaceful inauguration of the newly elected President, Lincoln. This he no more hesitated to perform than other patriotic duties required for the preservation of his country.

Interviews took place with Seward, Sumner, and other leaders. There was knowledge of treasonable designs against Lincoln's inauguration and of an attempt to induce Maryland to secede and claim the reversion of the District of Columbia. So pressing was the danger that the President was persuaded to order troops to Washington.

The effect of the arrival of United States soldiers under the national flag was startling. Here was notice at last, after months of doubt and hesitation, that the Republic was not to be destroyed without a struggle. All hope of peaceful settlement vanished. Even Mr. Stanton never rendered his country a greater service than that performed in January, 1861. He was denounced as no better than an abolitionist by Southern Democrats who favored the right of secession, and also by those who did not go so far, but who refused to sustain the Government under Republican control. To both he was equally odious, because he stood for maintaining the Government under all circumstances. He entered the Buchanan Cabinet as a Democrat in 1860 and left it a Democrat, but a Democrat who subordinated every issue to the maintenance of law and the preservation of the Union. Upon this platform he advocated obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law and recognition of slavery, intensely opposed as he personally was to that system. Here he stood with Lincoln and the large party who preferred to keep the constitutional compact with the South rather than compel the abolition of slavery at the risk of civil war.

Seven states seceded and Jefferson Davis was elected president of the Confederate states one month previous to Lincoln's accession. Like his predecessor, Lincoln's one desire was peace, and many plans for satisfying the South received his earnest consideration. Soon did he realize that the men who had elected

him were of different temper, some preferring disunion to the continuance of slavery, some for the Union with or without slavery, as Lincoln himself was. A large portion of the Northern people, not Republicans, were disposed to blame the Anti-Slavery people for their attack upon property recognized by the Constitution. Well did Lincoln know that the opposition in the North to the use of force against the South under existing conditions would be serious and powerful; hence his earnest efforts to avert hostilities. He went so far as to favor the evacuation of Fort Sumter, and steps were taken to prepare the public for the great sacrifice. The Cabinet approved this by five to two. The rumor of this action, started to test public opinion, aroused the North. It was overwhelmingly condemned and in such terms as made the President and Cabinet pause. Lincoln never gave the order.

As was to be expected, Stanton, now a private citizen, was inflexibly opposed to the evacuation of Sumter. His letters at this time express grave doubts of the capacity of the President and his Cabinet to preserve the Union, but still he believed that the Union was stronger than all its foes.

While the Union was thus imperiled and men in all the various divisions into which public opinion had drifted knew not what a day was to bring forth nor what the end was to be, an event occurred which instantly crystallized the divided North into one solid body. Never can I forget the April morning when there flashed through the land, "Fort Sumter fired upon by the rebels."

I was then superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Pittsburg and went to my office every morning on a train crowded with passengers. That morning the cars resembled a disturbed bee-hive. Men could not sit still nor control themselves. One of the leading Democrats who had the previous evening assured me that the people would never approve the use of force against their Southern brethren, nor would he, came forward, greatly excited, and I am sorry to say some of his words were unquotable. "What's wrong with you?" I asked. "Didn't I tell you last night what the Secessionists intended?" "But they have fired on the flag — fired on our flag." In less

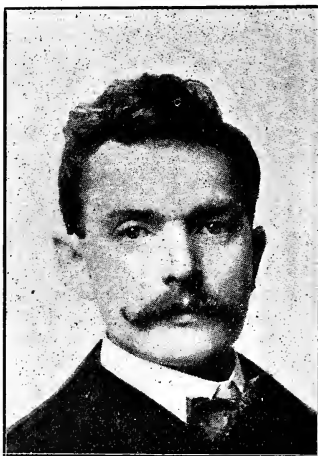
than a week I saw my friend one morning drilling to be ready as captain of a company to revenge that unpardonable crime. So with others of like views the night before. Stanton was right: the Union was stronger than all its foes. Ex-President Buchanan wrote General Dix:

"The present administration had no alternative but to accept the war initiated by South Carolina or the Southern Confederacy. The North will sustain the administration almost to a man; and it ought to be sustained at all hazards."

May 6th, to Stanton, he wrote:

"The first gun fired by Beauregard aroused the indignant spirit of the North as nothing else could have done, and made us a unanimous people. I had repeatedly warned them that this would be the result."

Buchanan proved to be a loyal man. Strong as the Union then proved to be, it is infinitely stronger to-day, not only in the North, but north, south, east and west, wherever Old Glory floats. The forces in our country to-day are all centripetal.



CHARLES P. FILSON.

Seventy-five thousand volunteers were immediately called for by the President to fight for the Union. After the repulse at Bull Run, a great army was concentrated around Washington under General McClellan, of whom Stanton expected great things, but as month after month passed and no forward movement was made, the nation became impatient and clamored for action. None came.

I can speak from personal experience of the condition of affairs in and around Washington immediately after Lincoln's

call for volunteers, having escorted General Butler and his regiments from Annapolis to Washington after we had repaired the railroad torn up by the Confederates. I saw General Scott, then in command, assisted morning and evening into and out of his brougham and led by two orderlies across the pavement to and from his office. Upon the old, infirm man, unable to walk, was thrown the task of organizing and directing the Army. The heads of other departments under him were mostly superannuated. There was little or none of any of the requisites for war. Reorganization of every branch was essential. General Cameron, Secretary of War, labored hard and did well under the circumstances, and deserved commendation, but he could not work miracles. Time was needed.

On the 13th of January, 1862, without consultation with Mr. Stanton, Lincoln nominated him as Secretary of War, and a few days later he was again a member of the Cabinet. Neither party nor personal considerations dictated his appointment. The President and Cabinet, disappointed and weary with the paralysis which had stricken the great army, and alarmed at the intense clamor of an incensed people, had to take action to prevent disaster. Earnestly searching for the best man to meet the emergency and to bring order out of chaos, there could be but one selection, the man who had restored President Buchanan to the Union cause, had convinced Secretary of State Judge Black that he was wrong in his views of constitutional law, had proclaimed failure to reinforce Fort Sumter treasonable, and told the President that if he surrendered the fort he would be a traitor and deserved to be hanged — that was the man the situation required. The effect of Stanton's appointment upon the country was magical as the people became conversant with the record of the new Secretary in Buchanan's Cabinet.

Much was said of Stanton's rude treatment of those having business with him, but, to judge whether his impetuosity was excusable, one has to know those who complained and what they demanded. He was overwhelmed with important affairs and had neither time nor disposition to waste time upon those who had personal ends to advance. I witnessed his reception of the committee from New York City who, fearing consequences, vis-

ited Washington to urge a postponement of the draft. That was delightfully short. No time lost. If there was to be rebellion in New York the sooner the Government met and crushed it the better. "No postponement," was Stanton's reply. We do not find Lincoln and members of the Cabinet or able members of the House or Senate or high military officers complaining of his manner. He had time and patience for them night or day.

His inherent kindness may be judged by his first act. It was to send a commission to Richmond to look after prisoners at the expense of the government. Ten days later came his order that prisoners of war should receive their usual pay.

Lincoln was reported as saying to a friend who congratulated him upon Stanton's appointment — "Yes, the army will move now, even if it move to the devil." Move it did, but not for some time. Month after month all was quiet on the Potomac. Even Washington was threatened and Pennsylvania invaded. The issue seemed to tremble in the balance. The nation was heart sick, but great news came at last to encourage it. A brigadier-general named Grant, upon his own initiative and much to the surprise of his commanding general, had captured Fort Henry and later Fort Donelson, with fifteen thousand prisoners, compelling the evacuation of Nashville. "I propose to move immediately upon your works" was the secret of victory. Here was "an auger that could bore," which Lincoln had determined to find.

In estimating Stanton as War Minister, many have been justly lavish in their praise of his unflagging energy, tenacity, and unconquerable will in the performance of the ordinary duties of a war minister, characteristic of an exceedingly able man, but a just estimate of him can only be made when the work he did, lying beyond the range of the immediate duties of a war minister, is known.

In the field of constitution law, for instance, we see that Stanton converted both President and Secretary of State, and he was described as "Lincoln's right-hand man" in addition to being War Minister. There were emergencies when not only ability, but genius, was shown. Let us recall three of these:

The Western rivers were patrolled by Confederate steamboats, improvised ships of war. The Navy Department had no plans for destroying these and opening the rivers to the National forces. Stanton knew Charles Ellet, builder of the Wheeling, Fairmount, and other bridges, an engineer of great ability, who had suggested rams for naval warfare. He wrote him, March, 1862 —

"If this Department had several swift, strong boats on the Western rivers, commanded by energetic fighting men, I could clear the rebels out of those waters and recover the Mississippi to the use of commerce and our armies. The Navy seems to be helpless and I am compelled to execute a plan of my own to avert the increasing dangers there. Can you not secretly fit out a fleet of swift boats at several points on the Ohio and descend on the rebels unexpectedly and destroy them? Please call at my office at once."

Ellet was called to Washington for conference on March 26th, and although Russia and our own Navy Department had long before rejected Ellet's idea of rams, Stanton adopted them, and sent Ellet to Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and New Albany to convert ordinary river steamboats into powerful rams. This was promptly done and the rams approached Memphis June 5th, destroyed the enemy and captured the city next day. Ellet was the only National officer lost. Wounded on deck, Nelson-like, in the hour of his greatest triumph, he can never be forgotten. Only ten weeks elapsed between the resolve to improvise rams, and victory.

The second instance: The Confederates early took possession of Norfolk and the Navy Yard. Secretary Stanton asked the Navy Department if the fleet could not attack Norfolk, but was met with the suggestion that the army should assault it by land. The Merrimac appeared and sunk the frigates Congress and Cumberland and alarmed the seaboard cities. That night Stanton called a committee together in New York by telegraph to devise plans for sinking the terror. He provisioned Fortress Monroe for six months and advised the navy department he could not embark the army to attack Norfolk until the navy bottled up or sank the Merrimac. On the following day he wired

Mr. Vanderbilt to name a price for sinking her. The Commodore promptly offered for the purpose the swift and powerful steamship Vanderbilt as a gift to the government. She was accepted and immediately sent to Fortress Monroe to lie in wait. These arrangements made, Stanton induced the president, to accompany him to Fortress Monroe, that he might have the commander-in-chief at his side to issue such orders as he might think necessary both to army and navy. There was to be no failure of co-operation. The attack was a splendid success. The Merrimac retreated and destroyed herself. The navy yard, Norfolk and Portsmouth were captured and the James River blockaded, all according to Stanton's plans and under his immediate direction.

The third instance: There came one serious disaster in the West — Rosecrans' defeat at Chickamauga, imperiling Chattanooga, the key to the region from which Rosecrans thought he might have to retreat. Stanton, as usual, had the solution — reinforce him from the Army of the Potomac. Upon receipt of Rosecrans' dispatch he sent for Lincoln, who was sleeping at the Soldiers' Home. Startled by the summons, the President mounted his horse and rode to Washington in the moonlight to preside over the Cabinet. Hallock opposed the idea, saying it would take forty days to make the transfer, but Stanton had already consulted the railroad and telegraph authorities, Eckert and McCallum, and had them present to assure the Cabinet that seven days would suffice. Stanton was given his way.

My superior officer and life-long friend, Colonel Thomas A. Scott, upon whom Stanton greatly relied, was called upon. Scott traveled the route. Stanton never left his office for three days and nights during the movement. September 26th the troops started and twenty-three thousand troops were with Rosecrans in less than seven days. To Colonel Scott, then at Louisville, Stanton telegraphed, "Your work is most brilliant. A thousand thanks. It is a great achievement." So my superior in government service at Washington and kindest friend of early days, Thomas A. Scott, lives in history as one who "did the state some service."

This was not all. Rosecrans' advices were still most dis-

couraging and indicated retreat. Stanton determined to visit the field and judge for himself. He wired General Grant to meet him and then immediately gave him full command of the Division of the Mississippi, not a moment too soon, for it was necessary to wire Rosecrans that he was displaced by General Thomas, the latter receiving orders to hold his position at all hazards. The result was the defeat of the Confederates and the capture of Chattanooga. Stanton returned to Washington, but not until he had seen Rosecrans displaced and Thomas in command of the Army of the Cumberland, with Grant over all in the West.

The work of no mere secretary of war achieved these three triumphs. Stanton appears as a combination of secretary of war, admiral of the fleet, and commanding general, the president of the United States a zealous co-operator. We note in these emergencies intuitive apprehension of the vital points: fertility of resource, adaptation of means to ends, and, over all, sublime confidence in himself and certainty of success — all qualities that pertain to genius. It may be doubted if ever a man displayed genius of a higher order in affairs of similar character. Certainly no secretary of war ever approached him.

It was not long before Grant was called to Washington by Secretary Stanton and placed at the head of the army. He dined with me at Pittsburg when he passed westward, and told me he was to become lieutenant-general with headquarters at Washington. General Thomas being then the popular idol I said to him, "I suppose you will place Thomas in command of the West." "No," he said, "Sherman (who had been little heard of) is the man for chief command. Thomas would be the first man to say so." Sherman did, indeed, prove that Grant knew his man.

Great events soon followed, culminating in the surrender of the Confederates and the assassination of Lincoln in the hour of victory; Stanton and Seward, like Lincoln, being also marked for death on the conspirators' list.

Stanton's report of December, 1865, opens as follows:

"The military appropriations by the last Congress amounted

to the sum of \$516,240,131.70. The military estimates for the next fiscal year, after careful revision, amount to \$33,814,461.83."

The army was reduced to fifty thousand men. The million of soldiers who had left peaceful pursuits to defend their country returned to their homes and their former pursuits without the slightest disturbance. "The future historian is to record," says Dana, "that this unprecedented transformation in which so many anxious patriots, soldiers, and statesmen alike, labored together, was pre-eminently achieved by the heroic genius of Edwin M. Stanton." So far all was peaceful and satisfactory in the North, but how the Southern states, recently in rebellion, were to be reconstructed, became the problem. Two days before his death Lincoln had said, "We all agree that the seceded states are out of their proper practical relation to the Union and that the sole subject of the government, civil and military, is again to get them into that proper practical relation."

The Southern people held that the old state legislatures returned with peace.

Stanton's connection with the subject began before Lincoln's death. April 14th, at a Cabinet meeting he submitted, at Mr. Lincoln's request, a mode which he had prepared whereby the states "should be organized without any necessity whatever for the intervention of rebel organizations or rebel aid." Lincoln's last telegram, April 11th, following Stanton's policy, was to General Weitzel, in command at Richmond, ordering that "those who had acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion be not allowed to assemble, even in their individual capacity." President Johnson followed this policy for some time and all went well, but on the 14th of August in a telegram to the governor of Mississippi he changed his position. When Congress met it appointed a committee to consider whether any of the seceding states were entitled to be represented in either house and provided that, until its report should be acted upon by Congress, no member should be received from such states. The fear of the Unionists was that, should the entire South send disloyal representatives, these, with a few Democratic sympathizers from the North, might control Congress and pass such measures as would nullify the Emancipation Proclamation.

The poisonous root of secession, slavery, not yet quite eradicated, was ready to germinate again. The President, a Southern man, brought face to face with the question of granting all the rights of citizenship to the negro, recoiled, and favored leaving this question to the states. Stanton stood firmly for the right of House and Senate to judge of the election returns and qualifications of their own members. An election for Congress intervened. President Johnson made inflammatory speeches in the campaign, calling Congress "a body which assumes to be the Congress of the United States, when it is a congress of only a part of the United States," the people responded by sending increased loyal majorities to both houses. The prominent part played by Stanton singled him out as the object of attack by the President and those of the Cabinet who sided with him. To protect him from dismissal, Congress passed the Tenure of Office bill, which also protected General Grant. Neither could be dismissed without the previous consent of the Senate. On the 19th of July Congress passed the Reconstruction Act, favored by Stanton, over the President's veto. Grant and Stanton, in cordial alliance, put it into force and saved the fruits of victory so seriously imperiled. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was finally made effective.

Soon after the adjournment of Congress, the President determined to displace Stanton and consulted Grant upon the subject. Grant expressed strong disapproval and, after pointing out that the approval of the Senate was necessary, ended with these words:

"In conclusion, allow me to say, as a friend, desiring peace and quiet, the welfare of the whole country, North and South, that it is, in my opinion, more than the loyal people of this country (I mean those who supported the government during the great rebellion) will quietly submit to, to see the very man of all others in whom they have expressed confidence removed."

The President then requested Stanton's resignation, which he declined to give before the next meeting of Congress.

In this he had the cordial support of the loyal people. At a later date, the president suspended him and appointed General

Grant secretary of war *ad interim*. In acknowledging to Stanton his acceptance, the general wrote:

"In notifying you of my acceptance, I cannot let the opportunity pass without expressing to you my appreciation of the zeal, patriotism, firmness, and ability with which you have ever discharged the duties of secretary of war."

Stanton knew that Grant had withstood the president resolutely, was true to the Union, and could be trusted, and hence had less difficulty in submitting under protest.

Upon the meeting of Congress, Stanton was promptly reinstated. General Grant immediately notified the President he was no longer secretary of war, since the Senate had reinstated Stanton. This incensed the President, who had expected Grant to remain and dispute the Senate's action. That Stanton was surprised that Grant ever accepted the appointment is clear, but Grant's letter to the President, February 3rd, explains all:

"From our conversations and my written protest of August 1, 1867, against the removal of Mr. Stanton, you must have known that my greatest objection to his removal or suspension was the fear that someone would be appointed in his stead who would, by opposition to the laws relating to the restoration of the Southern states to their proper relations to the government, embarrass the army in the performance of duties especially imposed upon it by these laws; and it was to prevent such an appointment that I accepted the office of secretary of war *ad interim*, and not for the purpose of enabling you to get rid of Mr. Stanton by my withholding it from him in opposition to law, or, not doing so myself, surrendering it to someone who would, as the statements and assumptions in your communications plainly indicate was sought."

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"And now, Mr. President, when my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from the beginning to the end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the

country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the secretary of war — my superior and your subordinate — without having countermanded his authority to issue the orders I am to disobey."

Thus Grant stood immovable, true to the loyal forces as against the president. The latter now attempted to get General Sherman to accept, but he resolutely declined. As a last resort General Thomas was appointed. This led to the impeachment of President Johnson by the House and his trial by the Senate. Upon the failure of the proceedings, through the lack of one vote only, although two-thirds majority was required, Secretary Stanton resigned and retired to private life, to be soon afterwards appointed justice of the supreme court by President Grant. Resolutions of thanks were passed by both houses and many were the tributes offered to this remarkable man who had given six years of his life and undermined his health in his country's service. Before entering the cabinet, he had amassed considerable means by his profession, but this was exhausted. Beyond his modest residence in Washington, he left nothing. Dispensing hundreds of millions yearly, he lived without ostentation, and he died poor.

Offers of gifts and private subscriptions by those who knew his wants were uniformly rejected. On the morning of the 24th of December, 1869, he breathed his last.

He had been foremost in urging the abolition of slavery, the root of secession, and Lincoln's righthand man in preserving our blessed Union, which secures for this continent an indissoluble government so overwhelmingly powerful as to be immune from attack and able to enforce internal peace, in contrast to Europe with its huge armies, organized not against foreign foes but for protection against each other.

Well may we imagine the patriot murmuring as his spirit fled, "I thank thee, God, that thou hast permitted thy servant to see slavery abolished and the Union preserved; let him now depart in peace."

The tributes paid to his memory were many, and his transcendent services were fully extolled, but of all that has been said or written about him, nothing gives posterity such clear,

full, and truthful evidence of the man's seemingly superhuman power of infusing into a whole people the vibrations of his own impassioned soul, as is supplied by an editorial written by one by no means predisposed in his favor, Horace Greeley. The following editorial appeared in the *Tribune*, February 18th:

"While every honest heart rises in gratitude to God for the victories which afford so glorious a guaranty of the national salvation, let it not be forgotten that it is to Edwin M. Stanton, more than to any other individual, that these auspicious events are now due. Our generals in the field have done their duty with energy and courage; our officers, and with them the noble democracy of the ranks, have proved themselves worthy sons of the Republic: but it is by the impassioned soul, the sleepless will, and the great practical talents of the secretary of war, that the vast power of the United States has now been hurled upon their treacherous and perjured enemies to crush them to powder. Let no man imagine that we exalt this great statesman above his deserts, or that we would detract an iota from that share of glory which in this momentous crisis belongs to every faithful participator in the events of the war. But we cannot overlook the fact that, whereas the other day all was doubt, distrust, and uncertainty; the nation despairing almost of its restoration to life; Congress the scene of bitter imputations and unsatisfactory apologies; the army sluggish, discontented, and decaying, and the abyss of ruin and disgrace yawning to swallow us: now all is inspiration, movement, victory, and confidence. We seem to have passed into another state of existence, to live with distinct purposes, and to feel the certainty of their realization. In one word, the nation is saved; and while with ungrudging hands we heap garlands upon all defenders, let a special tribute of affectionate admiration be paid to the minister who organized the victory which they have won."

Nothing is exaggerated here, unduly laudatory as it may seem. Many like myself can vouch from personal knowledge for all that is said, having known the man and his work and the conditions. Stanton deprecated its publication in 1862, and in a letter to the *Tribune* disclaimed the credit given him, but standing here to-day when justice can be done to the real hero without

arousing jealousy in others, I solemnly pronounce every word of Horace Greeley's tribute richly deserved. Our pantheon is reserved for the fathers of the Republic. To these has recently been added Lincoln, who has taken his place among the gods. Two other names from our generation are yet to enter, their services swelling as events recede: Stanton and Grant.

Thus passed away Kenyon's most illustrious alumnus, but in the higher sense he is still with us, and distant is the day when the graduates of Kenyon shall find that his spirit no longer rules them from his urn. Such an example as he left is one of the most precious legacies that can be bequeathed to posterity, a career spent, not in pursuit of miserable aims, which end with self, but in high service for others. In these days of materialism, where so many are devoted to the pursuit of wealth as an end, some pursuing it by underhand and dishonorable means, and in political life, where personal advancement is so often the aim, the value of a Stanton, in total abnegation of self, placing before him as his aim in life, service to his country, regardless of popularity, fame or wealth, cannot be overestimated.

It is for the students of Kenyon and for all men, year after year, generation after generation, century after century, to emulate his virtues, follow his example, and revere his memory.

SALMON P. CHASE.

JOSEPH B. FORAKER.

[This article is the substance of an address by Senator Joseph B. Foraker on the life, character and public services of Salmon P. Chase, delivered before the Circuit Court of the United States at Springfield, Ill., on October 7, 1905.]

The career of Chief Justice Chase was too eventful and too intimately connected with the great duties of a great period in our country's history to be justly portrayed in a brief address such as is called for on an occasion of this character.



J. B. FORAKER.

Mere glimpses are all that can be taken of even the most important features of his life, while many minor events might be dwelt upon with both interest and propriety.

Fortunately in that respect, what we are most concerned about here to-day is not his childhood, or his private life, domestic or professional, but his public life, and particularly that part of it which led up

to and included the Chief Justiceship.

He came of good stock, and had the good fortune to be born poor, and to be blessed with a powerful physique, an attractive personality, a dignified presence, a strong intellectual endowment, and such a predisposition to seriousness as to make frivolities of all kinds impossible.

He was also fortunate in being identified with both New England and the West, for thus he acquired the culture and refinement of the one section, and the vigorous and independent thought and progressive activity of the other.

He spent several years of his boyhood in the family of his uncle, Bishop Chase, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who was stationed during this period at Worthington and Cincinnati, Ohio. After this he became a student at Dartmouth College, where he was graduated in the classical course with that mental power of analysis and logical thought and expression which nothing can develop quite so well as a thorough study of the Latin and Greek languages.

He next spent three years in Washington, during which period he read law under William Wirt, then Attorney General of the United States.

The relation of student and preceptor seems, however, to have been little more than nominal, since it was related by Mr. Chase that Mr. Wirt never asked him but one question about his studies. He also states that when he came to be examined for admission to the bar he found himself so illy prepared that he passed with difficulty, and chiefly, as he always thought, because he informed Mr. Justice Cranch, who admitted him, that he intended to locate in the West.

During his stay in Washington he had many advantages that compensated in some degree for this lack of preparation for the practice of his profession.

He was on terms of social intimacy with Mr. Wirt's family, whose position was such that he was not only brought in contact with all the prominent men then in control of public affairs, but also with all the great questions with which they were at the time concerned.

Being of a studious and serious turn of mind, with such experiences, and amid such surroundings, he naturally drifted into the study of the political problems of the day, so that when in 1830, at the age of 22 years,* he opened a law office in Cincinnati, he was already almost as much occupied with affairs of State as about legal principles.

He chose Cincinnati for his future home because at that time it was the largest and most flourishing city of the West, and on that account gave the most promise of opportunity to a young lawyer ambitious to achieve success and distinction.

* Mr. Chase was born at Cornish, N. H., January 13, 1808.

He did not foresee that the slavery question was soon to become acute, and that he was to entertain views and take a position with respect to that institution of such ultra character that a less hospitable community for him could scarcely have been found in any Northern State than that border city, situated on the line that divided the free from the slave States, was to become.

If he had foreseen all this it probably would not have changed his course, for he was so constituted by nature that he might have felt that duty required him to station himself at that outpost as a sort of advance guard of the anti-slavery movement.

For several years he labored industriously to gain a foothold in his profession without making any more than ordinary progress.

His biographers record that during this period he had time for social functions, magazine articles, some newspaper work, and, most important of all, for a revision and editing of the statutes of Ohio which he published with a very able introduction in the nature of an historical sketch of the State and its developments. Still, however, he forged ahead, not rapidly, nor brilliantly, but surely, constantly and substantially.

His clients gradually increased in numbers and the work they brought him improved in quality until he had a very fair business, almost altogether of a commercial character, but his practice was still modest, involving neither large amounts nor complicated questions, and his position at the bar, although respectable, was yet comparatively humble and uninfluential, when, suddenly, unexpectedly and unintentionally, he was drawn into the controversy about Slavery and was started on a public career in the course of which he quickly became a political leader and achieved much fame as a lawyer.

ANTI-SLAVERY LEADER.

The mobbing in 1836 of the *Philanthropist*, an Anti-Slavery newspaper, published in Cincinnati by James G. Birney,* aroused him, as it did thousands of others, to the intolerance of the slave

* Mr. Birney was nominated for the Presidency in 1840, at Albany, by a convention of anti-slavery men. It was the Liberty party.

spirit and the necessity of resisting its encroachments by protecting Free Speech and a Free Press if the rights of the white man, as well as the rights of the free colored man, were to be preserved. He at once took a pronounced stand as an anti-slavery man, although he was always careful, then, and afterwards, until the Civil War, to declare and explain that he was not an abolitionist, and that he had no desire to change the Constitution or interfere with slavery in any way in the States where it was already established.

Although most of the time "out of line" he claimed to be a Whig until 1841,* but professed to believe in the States Right, Strict Construction doctrine of the Jefferson School of Democracy, and thus reconciled his attitude with respect to slavery in the States and his opposition to its extension beyond the States by the contention that the States in their sovereign capacity had a right to authorize and protect the institution, although a great evil, if they saw fit to do so; and that the States had this power because it belonged to sovereignty and had not been delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government; and that because such power was not delegated to the General Government, it had no power to authorize, protect, or even continue the institution in any district, territory or jurisdiction over which it directly governed.

But his politics and his law were severely criticised for they made it impossible for him to fully satisfy any party or faction of that time.

He did not go far enough for the Abolitionists, and went too far for both the Whigs and Democrats. One repudiated him because he was pro-slavery as to slavery in the States, and the other because he not only opposed the extension of slavery into the Territories but advocated its abolition in the District of Columbia, for which he is credited with drafting one of the earliest petitions presented to Congress. It naturally followed that he soon had trouble to know to what political party he belonged; a trouble that continued to plague him all his life and apparently led him to try in turn to belong to all of them, but without finding

* Mr. Chase was the leading member of an Ohio State Convention of the Liberty Party which met at Columbus, December 29, 1841.

satisfaction in any, not excepting those practically of his own creation.

Thus we find him calling himself a Henry Clay National Republican in 1832, a Harrison Whig in 1836, an out and out Whig in 1840, a Liberty man in 1844, a Free Soiler in 1848, a Democrat in 1851, so enrolling himself in the Senate, a Liberty man again in 1852, a Republican in 1856, and afterward until it was foreseen that he had no chance against Grant to be nominated by the Republican Party for the Presidency in 1868, then suddenly becoming a Democrat again, seeking the nomination by that party, and in that connection claiming that aside from slavery questions, so far as basic principles were concerned, he had been a Democrat all his life.

On top of all this we find him writing to a friend shortly prior to the meeting of the Liberal Convention that nominated Horace Greeley at Cincinnati in 1872, that if it should be thought that his nomination would promote the interests of the country he would not refuse the use of his name, thus showing a willingness to change parties once more on the condition expressed.

It is probably safe to say that he had membership in more political parties, with less enjoyment in any of them and with less mutual obligation arising therefrom than any other public man America has produced.

At any rate it was with this kind of zig-zag party affiliations he laid the foundations and built on them the claims on which he was elected to the Senate in January, 1849, by a fusion of the Democrats, Anti-Slavery Democrats, Democratic Free Soilers and Independent Free Soilers, and felt that he had a right to complain, as he did, because the Whigs, Anti-Slavery Whigs, and Free Soil Whigs would not also vote for him.* In making that complaint, he ignored the fact that it was charged and believed by the Whigs that his election was brought about by a bargain, which, among other things, provided that two contesting Democrats, enough to give that party a majority, were to be admitted to seats in the House. There was undoubtedly a clear under-

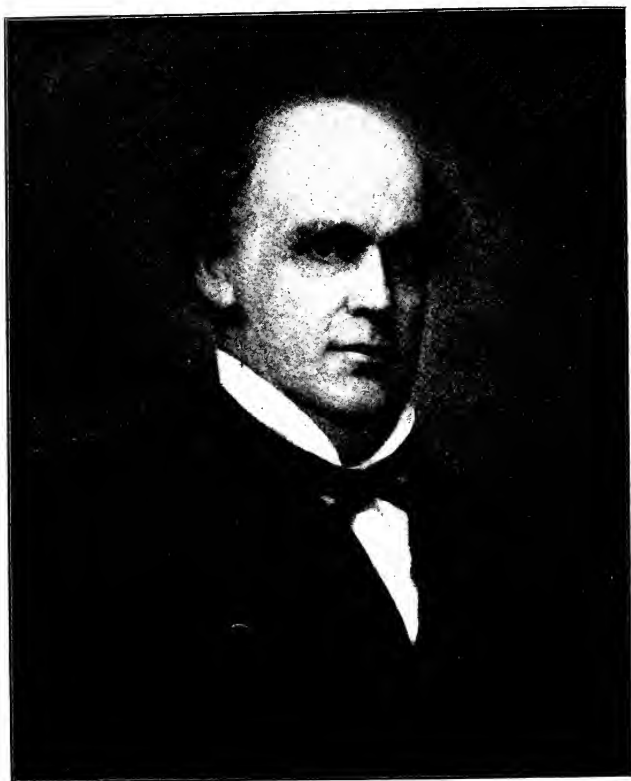
* For an interesting account of the election of Mr. Chase to the U. S. Senate see the article by Prof. N. S. Townshend pg. 111, Vol. 1., *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Publications.*

standing arrived at, but like some other men, of more modern times, such deals appear not to have been offensive to him, when made in his own behalf, since thereby the praiseworthy result was reached of securing his services to the public. They were bad and to be execrated only when made by others, and in the interests of somebody else, whose services were not, in his opinion, so important.

His complaint was not, however, without plausibility, for he at least had equal claims on all the parties and factions named, except the two Independent Free Soilers, to whom he really owed his election, since he had belonged to all, had repudiated all, and had been repudiated by all.

And yet, most of these party changes, perhaps all except that of 1868, came about naturally, and, from his standpoint, strange as it may appear, consistently also. His opposition to slavery being paramount, and the Whig Party failing and refusing to become an anti-slavery party, he was lukewarm and irregular in its support until the death of Harrison and the accession of Tyler, when he lost all hope of it ever meeting his views. He then openly deserted it and joined the Liberty party and at once devoted himself to its reorganization and upbuilding, which party, however, he in turn, abandoned, and helped to disorganize to make way for the Free Soil Party of 1848, which he actively helped to form by bringing about a fusion of Liberty Party men, Barnburners, Anti-Slavery Whigs, Anti-Slavery Democrats, and all other dissatisfied classes who could be gathered into the fold; a combination of elements incongruous as to all questions except that of hostility to slavery, about which they had the most fiery zeal. This party, so constituted, nominated Martin Van Buren as their candidate for the Presidency, in a Convention over which Mr. Chase presided,* and of which he was the dominating spirit, but they largely strengthened themselves and their cause by the ringing declarations of their platform, of which he was the chief author, for "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men."

* This was a Free-soil convention held at Utica, N. Y. Taylor was the presidential candidate of the Whigs; Cass was the Democratic candidate.



SALMON P. CHASE.

What Chase evidently most wanted in connection with that Convention was the substance and not the shadow — the platform in preference to the candidate, for it was well known that the candidate had no chance of an election, and would therefore pass away with the campaign, while the principles enunciated would be educational, and would live to do service in the future.

Thus it was that while manifesting instability, if not contempt, as to party ties and associations, by flitting out and in from one party to another, he was yet steadfastly, zealously and efficiently making continuous war on slavery, and all the while coming into ever closer affiliation and co-operation with the out-and-out Abolitionists; for while nominally working only as an anti-slavery man, he was largely aiding in the development of a radical Abolition sentiment. His progress in this respect was inevitable, for as the discussion proceeded he was necessarily more and more drawn into it — explaining, defending and advocating his views.

All the while his horizon was widening, and he was becoming acquainted by correspondence and otherwise, with the leading anti-slavery men of all the other States, both East and West. This multiplied the demands upon him for an expression of his sentiments, and so during this period he wrote many articles for the newspapers and magazines, attended political conventions, wrote platforms, and addresses to the public, and made numerous speeches on all kinds of public occasions. Being a forcible and ready writer, and a logical and convincing speaker, although too deliberate to be magnetic, he was constantly in demand, and as constantly making valuable contributions to the general literature that was used against slavery by its enemies of all shades and degrees.

Along with this growth of political prominence and influence before the public, there came to him, as a lawyer, a series of cases, all arising, in one form or another, under the Fugitive Slave Law, by which he was given repeated opportunities, which he well improved, of developing and presenting to the country the legal aspects of the controversy in a way that attracted universal attention to his cause and to himself as one of its ablest and most powerful exponents.

He was not successful except on some technical points in any of these cases, and probably did not expect to be; and in most if not all of them, he was paid inadequate fees, if any at all; but he labored and strove in them with all the energy that confidence of success and the most ample compensation could inspire. He thoroughly and exhaustively briefed them, and raised and insisted upon every point that could be made, both technical and substantial. In one of these cases that went to the Supreme Court of the United States, he artfully placed before the whole country, as well as the Court, all his constitutional and other arguments not only against Slavery but also against a Fugitive Slave Law, and particularly against its application to any but the original thirteen States, and therefore against its application to Ohio.

He was overruled, as he must have expected he would be, but he was purposely addressing himself to the country as well as the Court, and had a confidence, that subsequent events vindicated, that he would eventually secure a verdict at the hands of his fellowmen that would right the whole system of wrong that he was combating.

IN THE SENATE.

In the Senate he was out of harmony from first to last with both the Democrats and the Whigs. He at first insisted upon calling himself a Democrat, although the Democrats who were in the majority practically disowned him, and in the Committee assignments refused him any substantial recognition. This did not seem to either embarrass or handicap him. He had, in consequence of being practically relieved from Committee work, all the more time for the consideration of the slavery question, which was then rapidly becoming more and more the all-absorbing question of the hour.

He had not been long in his seat until he found opportunity to speak on that subject. From that time until the end of his term he was the real leader of the anti-slavery forces of both the Senate and the House. They were few in number, but they were able and forceful men, who stood up manfully and inspiringly for a sentiment which was then unpopular but which was soon to control the nation.

His most notable efforts were made in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. He was overwhelmingly beaten when the vote was taken, but he had so crippled and weakened the measure in the popular mind, that Douglass soon realized that while he had won the day in Congress, he had lost it before the people, who had become so aroused that he quickly saw that the long predicted dissolution of the Whig Party and the revolt of the Free Democrats were at hand, and that a new party was forming that was destined to change the entire complexion of the political situation and bring to naught all he had gained.

The debate was one of the most acrimonious and, measured by its far-reaching consequences, one of the most important that ever occurred in the American Congress.

Chase was the target for all the shafts of malice and ridicule, but through it all he bore himself with dignity and serenity, and showed such sincerity, zeal and ability, that, notwithstanding his obnoxious views, he gained the friendship of most of his colleagues and the respect of the whole country. His personal character was always upright, and now as he came to the end of a turbulent term in the Senate, where he had been disowned and in many ways slighted and mistreated by both parties, he saw, what he had probably long foreseen, a new party forming, of giant strength and high purpose, which he had done as much as any other man, if not more, to create, and of which he was an acknowledged leader.

The Democrats being in control of the Ohio Legislature, took his place in the Senate away from him, and gave it to George E. Pugh. But instead of punishing and retiring him, as they designed, they only made the way open and easy for him to become, after a most spirited campaign that attracted the attention of the whole country, the first Republican Governor of Ohio, and as such a prominent candidate for the Presidency.*

*The State Convention which nominated Mr. Chase for governor met at Columbus, July 13, 1854. More than a thousand delegates were present, it was called a "Chase movement." The convention formally assumed the name "Republican." As illustrating the political elements that made up this convention, it may be stated that the president was an old-line Democrat; the vice-president, an old-time Whig; the secretary an original Free-Soiler. Mr. Chase was triumphantly elected.

THE PRESIDENCY IN 1856.

He was conscious of the work he had done in organizing the new party, and realized that he had greatly strengthened it by leading it to its first great victory in the third State of the Union, as Ohio then was, while in New York and Pennsylvania his party associates had failed. With his strong mental powers, long experience in public life, and familiarity with all the public affairs and questions to be dealt with, it was but natural that under the circumstances, he should expect the honor of leading his party, as its candidate for the Presidency, in its first great national contest, and that he should experience keen disappointment when he saw his claims rejected, and the honor conferred on a younger man,* who had no special claims, except the popularity of an idol of the hour, who had won his prominence and the public favor not by participation in the fierce struggles and educational experiences through which the country had been passing, but by the success of a number of daring and spectacular explorations. He was solaced, however, by the thought that he was yet a young man, who could wait and grow with his party, and become its candidate later when the chances of success were more certain. He was in a good position for such a program.

GOVERNOR OF OHIO.

But aside from all such considerations he was naturally ambitious to make a good Governor, and such he was. His administration was conducted on a high plane, and in all respects he showed himself a capable and efficient Executive. Throughout his two terms the slavery question, through repeated Fugitive Slave Law cases, was almost constantly occupying public attention. As Chief Executive of the State he now had an official responsibility for the due execution of the laws and the process of the Courts, and had great difficulty to meet the requirements of public sentiment and avoid a conflict with national authority. While in some instances severely criticised he appears with respect to all these delicate and troublesome controversies to have

* John C. Fremont.

fairly and faithfully performed his duty. At any rate when he retired from his office in January, 1860, his party was greatly strengthened, and he had gained in general estimation as a man of pronounced convictions, honorable purposes and high qualifications for the public service. This was emphasized by a re-election to the Senate for the term commencing March 4th, 1861.

Thus it came to pass that in 1860 he ranked officially and personally, and deservedly so, with the foremost men of the nation. He seemed to have just and superior claims upon his party for its highest honor, and with a frankness amounting almost to immodesty — he set about securing it.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE 1860.

He had friends in all sections of the country, and he called upon them to advocate and advance his cause. He appeared to think only Seward and Bates formidable rivals, and easily satisfied himself that his claims were superior to theirs, but his friends in different parts of the country, especially in his own State, which seems to have had factional divisions and differences then as well as in later years, soon found that while all acknowledged his abilities, general qualifications and high personal character, yet there was a strong feeling in many quarters of distrust as to his views on the tariff and other questions that Republicans deemed of vital importance. This was due not so much to any statements he had made on these subjects, for he had never talked or written very much except about slavery, as to his oft repeated insistence and reiterated declarations from time to time preceding the organization of the Republican party, that he was a Democrat, and that he adhered to all the principles of that party, except those with respect to slavery.

In Ohio there was added a lingering resentment among many of the old Whig leaders for his apparently vacillating course as a party man, and especially for his combination with the Democrats to secure his election to the Senate in 1849.

Some of his friends were frank enough to tell him that his chances were not promising, but he listened more to those who told him what he wanted to hear, and, notwithstanding a divided

delegation from his own State, and but few delegates from other States who favored him as their first choice, he industriously and optimistically continued his canvass until the Convention met, and, giving him only forty-nine votes, dashed his hopes to the ground by the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

Much fault has been found with him for the manner in which he personally conducted his campaign for this nomination: He seems to have proceeded on the theory that "If he wanted the office he should ask for it," and to have not only asked but also in many instances to have insisted upon his right to support.

His correspondence teems with an array of his claims, and with arguments in support of them, and with advantageous comparisons of them with the claim of others, and with directions and suggestions to his friends how to advance his interests.

It is to be regretted that a man of such lofty character, such high ability, and such long experience with men and public affairs, could have shown so little regard for propriety with respect to such a matter.

The small vote he received in the Convention was probably due in some degree at least to the offense he gave in this way, for the sturdy, hard-headed men of that heroic time naturally disliked such self-seeking with respect to an office the duties and responsibilities of which were so grave that any man might well hesitate to assume them even when invited to do so.

In all other respects his canvass was free from criticism. It was honest; there was no trickery attempted in connection with it — no promises were given, no bargains were made, no money was used. When it was over he had nothing to regret except defeat, and he took that gracefully. He gave Mr. Lincoln hearty support, and was undoubtedly truly rejoiced by his election, for he saw in it the triumph of the principles for which he had been all his life contending, and the beginning of the end of slavery in the States as well as elsewhere.

IN THE CABINET.

Mr. Lincoln at the time of his election was underestimated by almost everybody, except those whom he was wont to call the

plain, common people. They seemed to know him and his greatness by intuition, as it were. They had confidence in his sound common sense, and loved him for his homely manners, and simple straight-forward methods. They felt from the day of his nomination that he would be elected; and when he was elected and the clouds began to gather, and one State after another seceded, there never came an hour when they did not implicitly rely on him to safely pilot them through whatever storms might come. He had their confidence from the first and he held it to the last. They never wavered either in their devotion to his leadership, or in their faith that he would eventually save the Union.

From the very beginning they gave him also his rightful place as the real leader, who outranked all his associates in public life, not only because he was President, but also, and more particularly, because of his natural endowments and qualities of mind and heart.

But it was different with some of the leaders. Many of them were slow to acquire a just conception of his character and abilities. They never thought of him seriously in connection with the Presidency until he was practically nominated, and they did not think of him then, except as a sort of accidental compromise, who was not well qualified for the position. They regarded him as lacking not only the culture and refinement, but also the practical experience with public affairs that was essential to their successful administration.

He came to the front so suddenly and unexpectedly that he had gone ahead of them and had been named by his party for its leader before they realized that they were being supplanted. His administration was organized and fairly under way before they began to recognize their true relation to him.

This was particularly true of Seward and Chase, who had been the chief, and as they long thought, almost the exclusive rivals, for the honors of party leadership.

Both were invited to take seats in the Cabinet, and each accepted with the idea that, in addition to his own Department, he would be expected to bear, in large degree, the burdens of all the other Departments. Each seemed to think the country would look to him rather than to Mr. Lincoln for the shaping of the

policies to be pursued. There was some excuse for this in the fact that each had his ardent friends and admirers who encouraged the idea, and because some of the leading newspapers seemed to think that Lincoln had called them into his counsels from consciousness of his deficiencies, and in recognition of their superior fitness for the work he had been called to perform.

This thought — of the broader and more important duty of supervising the whole administration, seems for a time to have so occupied Chase's mind, that he did not at first realize, and perhaps never fully, that his legitimate field at the head of the Treasury Department was full of duties of the highest importance and the amplest opportunities for conspicuous service.

During all the time he was a member of the Cabinet, but particularly during the first months, he gave much volunteer attention to duties outside his Department, particularly to those relating to the War Department; the organization of the army and the planning and conducting of campaigns; he was an inveterate letter writer, and was constantly giving advice and making suggestions to apparently every one who would listen, including commanding officers in the field.

Gradually, however, he came to more clearly understand that his own duties were enough, if properly looked after, to tax him to the utmost, and in time he came also to realize that Mr. Lincoln was the head of his own Administration, and the final arbiter of all controverted questions.

By reason of this disposition and habit his work in the Cabinet was not so good as it might have been if he had concentrated his efforts in his own Department and had been properly alive from the outset to the seriousness of the situation he was called upon to meet. His fault in this latter respect was, however, common to all, for the war in its magnitude and duration exceeded all expectations, and its demands multiplied with such frightful rapidity as to upset all calculations, thus making it well nigh impossible for him to keep pace with its growing requirements, and secure from Congress the authority and help necessary to enable him to carry out such plans as he formulated; and yet, notwithstanding all this, it would be difficult to exaggerate what he accomplished.

He found his Department disorganized, but in the midst of the excitements of the hour and the exacting duties of a more important nature that fell upon him, he thoroughly reorganized it, introducing many reforms that greatly increased its efficiency. He found the Government without funds or credit, and without adequate revenues to meet ordinary expenditures in time of peace, but he surmounted all such obstacles and made it successfully respond to the exigencies of war.

With the necessity suddenly precipitated of providing for great armies and navies, and equipping and maintaining them, he would have had a hard task under the most favorable circumstances, but it was increased almost beyond the power of description by an empty Treasury, a startling deficit, an impaired credit, an inadequate revenue, and eleven States in rebellion, with tens of thousands of copperhead sympathizers in every loyal State criticising and actively opposing in every way, short of overt acts of treason, every step he took or tried to take.

He had all the help that able men in Congress and outside could give him by advice, and the suggestion of plans and methods, and ways and means, but after all he was the responsible official, whose duty it was to hear all, weigh all, and decide which plan of the many suggested should be adopted, and then take upon himself the responsibility of recommending it and advocating it before the country and before the Congress, and if the necessary authority could be secured, executing it.

His difficulties were further increased by the fact that the Republican Party was then new to power, and its members in public life had not yet learned to work in harmony. Many of them were strong and aggressive men who were slow to adopt the views of others with which they did not fully coincide.

In consequence his recommendations were subjected to the keenest scrutiny and criticism from party associates, as well as opponents, and not infrequently they were materially modified or changed before they received statutory sanction, and in some instances entirely rejected.

In all these experiences his high personal character and well recognized ability were of incalculable value to him and his country. Whatever else might be said, nobody ever questioned the

integrity of his purpose, the probity of his action, or the sincerity of his arguments.

While in the light of subsequent events it is seen that much that he did might have been done better, yet when the circumstances and the lack of light and precedent under which he acted are fairly measured it is almost incredible that he did so well.

When we recall that great conflict we are apt to think only of its "pomp and circumstance" — of the deeds of heroism and daring — of the army and the navy — of the flying flags and the marching columns — of the services and sacrifices of those who fought and died — forgetting that less fascinating but indispensable service, and the noble men who rendered it, of supplying "the sinews of war," without which all else would have been in vain.

His labors in this behalf were incessant and herculean. On this occasion details are impossible. Suffice it to say that by every kind of taxation that could be lawfully devised he swelled the revenues to the full limit at which it was thought such burdens could be borne, and by every kind of security, certificates, notes and obligations that he could issue and sell or in any way use, he drew advance drafts upon the Nation's resources.

He met with many disappointments and discouragements, but he unflinchingly persevered, and finally succeeded, approximately, to the full measure that success was possible.

There were numerous transactions that might well be mentioned, because of the illustration they afford of the services he rendered, the difficulties he encountered, and of the kind of labor and effort he was constantly putting forth with members of Congress, bankers, editors and others to advance and uphold his views, develop and educate public sentiment, and secure needed legislation and support; but all are necessarily passed over, that some mention may be made of two subjects, with which he was so identified that even the briefest sketch of his public services should include some special reference to them.

They were the issue of legal tender notes, hereinafter discussed in connection with the legal tender cases, and the establishment of the National Banking System, involving, as it did, the extinction of State Banks of issue.

THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

The establishment of a uniform National Banking System was, like most great measures, of gradual development.

It was much discussed and many minds contributed to the working out of the details, but Chase seems to have a pretty clear claim to its general authorship.

Upon him more directly than anybody else was impressed the necessity for some kind of reform in that respect, for while each citizen was experiencing difficulty in his dealings with individual banks he was compelled to deal with practically all of them, and, therefore, felt, in a consolidated form, the combined disadvantages that others suffered in detail.

In view of what we now enjoy, and the ease with which, looking backward, it appears that it should have been brought about it seems incredible that an intelligent people should have so long suffered the inconveniences of the old system.

It can be accounted for only from the fact that for the Government in a general way, and for the people in a commercial and general business sense, that the day was of small things, and it was tolerated because they were accustomed to it, and because there was a natural aversion, especially on the part of the banks, to making radical changes that were necessarily in some degree of an experimental character.

But finally there came a precipitating cause, and the contest was inaugurated to substitute something better. The case was a plain one but the resistance was stubborn.

Aside from the universal and almost unbearable inconveniences of doing business with a currency that had no uniformity of issue, appearance, or value; and which had no proper safeguards against counterfeits and forgeries, was the fact that it was not possible for such a discredited and unsatisfactory System to render the Government much substantial help in placing its loans or in conducting any of its important fiscal transactions.

Chase saw clearly, and from the first, that such a System could not co-exist with a uniform national system such as he contemplated, and that the existing State Institutions would not surrender their charters, and take new ones under an Act of

Congress, unless they were offered more substantial advantages than the Government should be required to give, or instead were deprived of the privilege of issuing their own notes, and that the best way to solve the problem was to tax their issues out of existence.

It was a hard matter to bring others to agree with him. The opposing banks commanded in the aggregate a tremendous influence, and with the aid of doubting Congressmen and newspapers they long delayed, and finally so crippled the first Act that was passed, that it failed to provide an acceptable and successful plan largely because it left the State issues untouched.

It continued so until the law was so amended as to embrace practically all the recommendations Chase had made and insisted upon, including a tax of ten per cent. on the issues of State Banks. This did not happen until he had quit the Treasury Department, but it was his plan and his work, consummated, that gave us freedom from the worst banking system that could be well imagined, and substituted therefor one of the best any country has ever enjoyed. It was a work of high character and of enduring benefit to the whole country. It was the crowning act of his administration of the Treasury Department if not of his whole life, and, coupled with his other successes, entitles him to rank, after Hamilton, who has had no equal, with Gallatin and Sherman, and the other great Secretaries who have held that high office.

RELATIONS TO MR. LINCOLN.

It was unfortunate for his influence then and his reputation now that at times he showed less satisfaction with his position and exhibited less cordial good-will in his relations to Mr. Lincoln than he should. Personal disappointment was probably the chief cause. From his first appearance in public life he was talked about for the Presidency, and almost from the beginning he talked about and for himself in that connection. Barring the indelicacy manifested, there was no impropriety in such talk until after he accepted a seat in the Cabinet. It was different after that, for while there was all the time more or less opposition cropping out to the renomination of Mr. Lincoln, yet there was

never at any time enough to justify a member of his political household, who had been part of his administration and policies, in the encouragement of that opposition, particularly for his own benefit. That Chase was a passive candidate during all the time he was in the Cabinet and a good part of the time an active candidate, cannot be doubted. His many letters and diary entries show this; not so much by his open advocacy of his claims as by criticisms of Mr. Lincoln and his manner of conducting the public business and the general encouragement he was giving and evidently intending to give to the opposition sentiment.

He may not have realized fully the character of record he was making in this respect, for he was no doubt somewhat blinded by the fact that he never could quite outgrow the idea that Lincoln did not deserve to be put ahead of him in 1860, and that the country would surely sometime learn its mistake and right the wrong. In addition he had a conceit that he was of greater importance than he was getting credit for at the hands of the President, and that when he and the President differed about anything in his department the President should yield, as he always did, except in a few instances when his sense of duty and responsibility prevented. At such times he was especially liable to say and do peevish and annoying things. On a number of such occasions he went so far as to tender his resignation, accompanied each time with a letter expressing a deep sense of humility but with an air of injured innocence that he no doubt keenly felt. Notwithstanding the trial it must have been for Mr. Lincoln to do so, he, each time, with singular patience, that only the good of his country could have prompted, not only refused acceptance, but apparently placed himself under renewed obligations by insisting that he should remain at his post.

Naturally this was calculated to cause Chase to more and more regard himself as indispensable, until finally, June 30th, 1864, on account of new differences connected with the appointment of an Assistant United States Treasurer at New York, he made the mistake of tendering his resignation once too often. This time Mr. Lincoln promptly, and to Mr. Chase's great surprise and chagrin, accepted it and clinched the matter by immediately appointing his successor.

He was thus suddenly left in a pitiable plight so far as his personal political fortunes were concerned, and but for the uncommon generosity of Mr. Lincoln, he would have so remained.

Mr. Lincoln had been renominated and the victories of Grant and Sherman were every day strengthening his Party and his chances of election.

All thoughtful men could see that the end of the war could not be much longer deferred and that, with victory assured and Mr. Lincoln re-elected, there was renewed strength with continuance in power ahead for the Republican party. It was a bad time for a man who had sustained the relations he had to the Party, and the war, and the administration, to drop out of the ranks and get out of touch with events; but there he was, "outside the breastworks," and nobody to blame but himself.

It was a hard fate that seemed to have befallen him; and such it would have been if almost anybody but Mr. Lincoln had been President, for most men would have left him helpless in his self-imposed humiliation. But Mr. Lincoln was a most remarkable man. He was enough like other men to enjoy, no doubt, the discomfiture Chase had brought on himself, but enough unlike other men to magnanimously overlook his weaknesses and offenses when public duty so required.

APPOINTED CHIEF JUSTICE.

Accordingly, remembering only his long and faithful services and his high general and special qualifications for the place, he made him Chief Justice.

From the date of his resignation until December when he was appointed, were probably his bitterest days.

He had nothing to do and no prospect. He made an effort, or at least his friends did, to secure his nomination for Congress from his old Cincinnati District, but so signally failed as to give painful evidence that he was not only out of office and out of power, but also out of favor. He was almost out of hope also when Chief Justice Taney died. He was conscious that he had no claim on Mr. Lincoln for that or any other place, not alone because he had petulantly deserted him at a critical moment, but also

and more particularly because in his vexation of spirit he had said some very unkind things of him, but he did not hesitate to allow his friends to urge him for that high honor, and, notwithstanding many protests, Mr. Lincoln gave it to him.

It would be hard to recall an instance of greater magnanimity than was thus shown by Mr. Lincoln. It was magnanimous because, while in most respects Mr. Chase's qualifications for the position were high, they were not of such exceptional character as to single him out above all other men for the place; certainly not if we consider only his experience at the bar, for while the first six years of his life in Cincinnati were devoted to the practice of his profession, yet, like the same period with other beginners, they were not very busy years. He had no exceptional successes. His progress was satisfactory and probably all that should have been expected, but there was nothing extraordinary to forecast for him the great honor of the Chief Justiceship.

During the following thirteen years, until he was elected to the Senate, his time was so occupied with political demands that he did not have much opportunity for professional work, and what time he did devote to his law practice was taken up very largely with Fugitive Slave Law cases, aside from which there is no record of any case or employment that he had during all those nineteen years, from 1830, when he located in Cincinnati, until 1849, when he was elected to the Senate, that was of anything more than passing importance. During all that time, he probably never had any single employment of sufficient importance to bring him a fee of so much as \$1,000.

It is probable that in all that time he never had a patent case, or an admiralty case, or any occasion to make any study whatever of international law, and yet at that point virtually ended not only his career as a practicing lawyer, but also his study of the science of the law except as an incident of his public services.

During the next six years — until 1855 — he was a member of the Senate, and devoted all his time to his public duties and to public questions and affairs. He was next, for four years, Governor of Ohio, and then came the national campaign of 1860, the election of Mr. Lincoln and the Secretaryship in his Cabinet,

which continued until his resignation shortly before he was appointed Chief Justice.

And yet he was, all things considered, probably the best qualified of all who were mentioned for the place. His limited experience at the bar was not without precedents. Neither Jay nor Marshall had any very considerable experience of that character.

Both of them, like Chase, were prepared for their great work more by their public services and studies as statesmen, than by the general study of the law and the trial of cases in the courts. It was much the same with Taney. He had a larger experience as a practitioner, and was Attorney-General, but his appointment was due more to his general public services than his professional achievements, although they were highly creditable and his standing as a lawyer was good.

Jay was intimately identified with the formative stages of our Governmental institutions, and in that way was familiar from their very origin with the public questions it was thought might arise for decision; and Marshall, a soldier of the Revolution and a careful student of the great purposes and results of that struggle was thereby equipped for not only his distinguished political career, but also for the great work for which the American people owe him a debt of everlasting gratitude, of so interpreting the Constitution as to breathe into it, with the doctrine of implied powers, that life, flexibility and adaptability to all our exigencies and requirements, that have made it, not only a veritable sheet anchor of safety for us, but also the marvel of the statesmen of the world.

With Chase, as with his illustrious predecessors, it was his long, varied and important public services rather than his professional labors that prepared him for the Chief Justiceship and secured him the appointment. They were of a character that broadened his views by compelling a study of the Constitution and the foundation principles of our Government in connection with their practical application.

Mr. Lincoln not only understood and appreciated this, but he foresaw, and no doubt had much anxious concern on that account, that, after the restoration of peace, all the great transactions and

achievements of his Administration would have to run the gauntlet of the Courts. The abolition of slavery, the status of the freedmen, the status of the seceding States, the status of their inhabitants — the leaders who had brought about the war, and the masses of the people who had simply followed them, the confiscation of property, all the great war measures that Congress had enacted, including the legal tender acts, he knew must in the order of events sooner or later come before the Supreme Court for final adjudication.

It was natural to conclude that no man was so well qualified to deal intelligently and satisfactorily with these questions as he who, in addition to having good general qualifications, had been a capable and responsible participator in all that gave rise to those questions.

There were many other great lawyers, but there was no other lawyer of equal ability who had sustained such a relation to these subjects.

Mr. Lincoln had a right to expect that with Chase Chief Justice the fruits of the war, in so far as he might have occasion to deal with them, would be secure, and this doubtless turned the scales in his favor.

In large measure he met every just and reasonable expectation. In so far as he failed to do so, it was generally charged, whether rightfully or not, to his ambition to be President, which he should have put away forever on his accession to the Bench, but which he appears to have indulged until his very last days.

This is particularly true of his failure to bring Jefferson Davis to trial; and with respect to his rulings in the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson; and his opinions in the Legal Tender cases.

Most men are now agreed that he acted wisely as to Davis, and that he ruled honestly and in most cases correctly on the trial of Johnson.

THE LEGAL TENDER CLAUSE.

As to the Legal Tender cases he was at the time and has been ever since much censured, aside from the merits of the controversy, on the ground that he tried to undo on the Bench what he

did, or at least was largely responsible for as Secretary. No complete defense against this charge can be made, but the case against him is not so bad as generally represented, for, while finally assenting to such legislation, and from time to time as occasion required availing himself of its provisions, he was at first opposed to the step on the ground of policy and from doubt as to the power, and at last reluctantly yielded his objections rather than his opinions, only when the necessities of the Government seemed to imperatively so demand, and when Congress had fully determined to resort to the measure anyhow.

For him to have longer opposed would have been futile to prevent it, and could not have had any other effect than to discredit the notes when issued, breed discord, and put him at cross purposes with men, as competent to judge as he, with whom it was his duty to co-operate in every way he could to accomplish the great purpose all alike had in view of preserving the Union.

The situation was so unlike anything with which we are to-day familiar, that it is not easy to recall it.

Instead of the annual revenues of the Government aggregating the abundant and almost incomprehensible sum of seven hundred millions of dollars, as they do to-day, they amounted then from all sources to less than fifty millions of dollars.

Instead of two per cent. bonds selling readily in wholesale quantities, as they do to-day at a premium, six per cent. bonds were sold only with difficulty, and in dribbling amounts at a ruinous discount.

In lieu of a national paper currency, good everywhere as the gold itself, we had only an inadequate supply of notes of uncertain and varying value, subject to no regulation or provision for their redemption in gold, except such as was imperfectly provided by the different States.

Few saw and appreciated until the second year of the war in what a gigantic struggle we were involved, and how stupendous must be the financial operations and provisions of the Government to meet its requirements.

For this reason no comprehensive or well considered plans were adopted at the start, as foresight of what was coming would have suggested, but on the contrary mere temporary ex-

pedients, such as the sale of bonds in comparatively small amounts, and to run for short period, demand loans, interest and non-interest bearing Treasury certificates and notes, demand notes, and whatever form of obligation could be utilized for the time being were resorted to, and relied upon to tide over what it was hoped and believed would be, although a most severe, yet only a temporary emergency.

As the war progressed and we met with reverses in the field, that indicated it would be prolonged, specie payments were suspended, and the national credit became more and more strained and impaired.

In consequence it became practically impossible to longer raise by such methods the necessary funds with which to conduct the Government and prosecute the war, or even to transact satisfactorily the private business of the country.

The point was finally reached where the people must come to the financial help of the Treasury, or the Union must perish.

Chase saw as well as others that the law of the case was Necessity, but he did not yield without an effort to have attached as a condition, provision for a uniform National Banking System. The condition was not accepted, but was provided for later, and long before the legal tender cases arose.

Whatever else may be said about the legal tender clause, it is a fact of history that the effect for good on the Union cause was instantaneous and immeasurable. If it was a forced loan from the people, they gladly made it. If it was a hardship on anybody, it was not complained of by any friend of the Union. It gave confidence and imparted courage, and from that moment success was assured, not only for the Union cause, but for everybody connected with it, and especially for Chase himself, for without it his administration of the Treasury Department would have been a dismal and mortifying failure.

Such a measure, arising from such a necessity, and accomplishing such results, was as sacred as the cause it subserved, and, aside from the wholesale disasters involved, it never should have been called in question by anybody, especially not by anyone who had the slightest responsibility for its enactment, and least of all by a personal or official beneficiary.

It is both impossible and unnecessary, if not inappropriate, to here discuss the legal propositions involved in the legal tender cases, but, on the other hand, it is both appropriate and essential to the completeness of these remarks to speak of Chief Justice Chase's attitude with respect to them.

No one can make a better defense for him than he made for himself.

In *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, anticipating the criticisms he knew must follow his decision that the legal tender clause was unconstitutional as to debts previously contracted, he said, manifestly by way of attempted personal justification:

"It is not surprising that amid the tumult of the late Civil War, and under the influence of apprehensions for the safety of the Republic almost universal, different views, never before entertained by American statesmen or jurists, were adopted by many. The time was not favorable to considerate reflection upon the constitutional limits of legislative or executive authority. If power was assumed from patriotic motives, the assumption found ready justification in patriotic hearts. Many who doubted yielded their doubts; many who did not doubt were silent. Some who were strongly averse to making government notes a legal tender felt themselves constrained to acquiesce in the views of the advocates of the measure. Not a few who then insisted upon its necessity, or acquiesced in that view, have, since the return of peace, and under the influence of the calmer time, reconsidered their conclusions, and now concur in those which we have just announced. These conclusions seem to us to be fully sanctioned by the letter and spirit of the Constitution."

In the *Legal Tender Cases* he amplified this somewhat, but without adding to its strength.

His opinions in these cases were in dignified style and, from his point of view, very able; but there was then and still is, and perhaps always will be much difference of opinion as to their merit.

In all other respects his work as Chief Justice is now universally considered highly creditable—some of it particularly so—especially his opinion in *Texas vs. White*, which he regarded with great pride and satisfaction as a sort of culminating fruit of his life's labors. His opinions were usually brief and always clear and strong. They cover almost every phase of the litigation growing out of the Civil War and the reconstruction acts that followed, and all the decisions of the Court, while he presided, remain unquestioned, except, inferentially, the constitutionality of the income tax.

He died May 7, 1873, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after only eight years of service on the Bench; but they were years of great anxiety to the American people, for, during all that time, the country's destiny was in a large measure in the hands of the Supreme Court. On its decisions depended the issues of the war — whether to be upheld and made secure or overthrown and brought to naught. The Court was equal to all requirements and did its part so splendidly and brilliantly of the great work of regeneration and preservation that Chase and his associates deserve to stand — and do — in public esteem and gratitude next after Marshall and his associates. The one dealt with the construction of our government, the other with its reconstruction. The labors of both were vital.

If he had been content to devote himself to his judicial work exclusively, he would have been spared much that was disagreeable and his fame would have been brighter than it is.

All his life, until his last two years, he had robust health, unlimited energy, and an almost uncontrollable disposition to participate in the general conduct of public affairs.

In consequence, while Chief Justice, he was, in what was regarded as a sort of intermeddling way, constantly giving attention to questions that belonged to Congress and other departments of government, and was from time to time freely offering advice and making suggestions as to legislative enactments and governmental policies; but, more unfortunately still, he was all the while listening to the suggestions of unwise friends and mere flatterers about the Presidency. Much work was done for him with his knowledge and approval to secure the Republican nomination in 1868, but early in that year, seeing there was an irresistible sentiment in favor of General Grant, he withdrew himself from the race. If he had remained out there would have been but little criticism, but he was scarcely out of the Republican race until he was entered for the Democratic. While the impeachment trial of President Johnson was yet in progress he signified a willingness to become the Democratic candidate and set forth in letters to his friends that inasmuch as the slavery questions had all been settled there was nothing in his political beliefs inconsistent with the principles of Democracy in which

he had always been a believer. For a time there seemed strong probability that he would be the Democratic nominee. But it is familiar history that before his name could be presented the Convention was stampeded to Governor Seymour. Naturally there were charges that he was influenced, on account of his Presidential candidacy, by political considerations, and in this way he was shorn of much of the dignity, confidence and influence that rightfully belonged to him in his high office. He suffered in this way, not only as Chief Justice, but also as a man. This is especially true of his candidacy in 1868 for the nomination first by the one party and then by the other, for at that time there was such a radical difference between the parties, and so much bitterness of feeling, that it was incomprehensible to the average mind how any honorable man could so lightly, and with such apparent equal satisfaction to himself, belong to first the one and then the other, and with like zeal seek, or at least be willing to accept, the honors of both.

The explanation is in the fact that it was the weakness of a strong man. He was so conscious of his mental powers and of his qualifications by reason of his long public service, to make a capable and efficient Chief Magistrate, that it was easy for him to think his claims for such recognition better than those of others; especially others who had been differently trained as Grant had been, and, therefore, to believe that his friends were right in their judgment that he was, for just reasons, the people's choice, and that it was his duty to his country, as well as to them, to become their candidate.

With all his faculty for measures he had but little for men. He was himself so simple-minded, truthful and straight-forward in his dealings with others that he seemed incapable of understanding how untruthful and deceitful others were capable of being in their dealings with him, especially if their pretensions were in accordance with his own views and desires.

As time passes these features of his career will fade out of sight and be forgotten. Already he has taken his proper place in history, and in the appreciation of the American people, as the great figure he really was—a strong, massive, patriotic, fearless and controlling character in the settlement of the mighty

questions that shook to their foundations the institutions of our Government. He will be remembered also for the purity of his life, for his domestic virtues, for his deeply religious nature, ever depending on Divine help, and for that love and zeal for humanity that made him brave social ostracism and sacrifice, if necessary, all chance of personal political preferment that he might champion the cause of the slave and break the power that held him in fetters. In the light of true history the consistency of his conduct will not be determined by the record of his party affiliations, but by the constancy of his devotion to the cause that filled his heart and dominated all his political actions. Measured by that test, few men have run a straighter course or done more to merit a high place in the esteem of their countrymen.



GENERAL GEORGE A. CUSTER.

JUDGE RICHARD M. VOORHEES.

If after a lapse of twenty-three centuries the world still looks with respectful emotion on the mound which protects the dust of that phalanx of Spartan heroes who fought and fell at Thermopylae while resisting the tide of Persian invasion and in



GEN. GEORGE A. CUSTER.

rescuing the land of popular liberty, of letters, and arts from a ruthless foe, surely no apology is needed for claiming an hour's thoughtful consideration of the life, character and services of our young and brilliant American soldier, Gen. George A. Custer.

On the fifth day of December, 1839, in the obscure village of New Rumley, Ohio, Geo. A. Custer was born. His parents had neither fortune nor fame to bestow upon their son; these were left for him to achieve for himself.

Whatever the future had in store for him he had to secure by his own genius and efforts.

My first remembrance of him goes back more than fifty years ago. Then we were country lads and school fellows together, surrounded with the pleasures and contending with the trials in that narrow sphere of life. By his pleasing disposition and behavior Custer exhibited thus early in life some of the peculiar traits of character which later developed into and made

him one of the most brilliant and dashing cavalry officers of modern times.

Whoever came in contact with him were impressed by his conduct and bearing, his enthusiastic nature, manly deportment and exuberant dash; qualities his subsequent career in life and heroic death fully developed and confirmed.

Physically he was favored and kindly dealt with by nature; tall, erect and handsome in person; exceedingly graceful in movement, with a noble, knightly face, his golden locks flowing gracefully over his manly form; just such a figure as fancy would picture for her ideal soldier.

In June, 1857, he received his appointment as a cadet at West Point; there to fit himself for his military career which was so brilliant and brief. Neither in his literary or military studies did he attain special eminence. He was not what is commonly called a first-class student. He himself tells us that in a class of thirty-four members, thirty-three had at graduation a higher standing than he. His reckless romance of character almost cost him a court-martial on the day of his graduation; which instance would have ruined any one not possessed of Custer's good fortune. The incident which gave rise to this is worth relating, as it is so peculiarly characteristic of the subject of this brief sketch. On commencement day he was officer of the guard and seeing two cadets quarreling, instead of arresting both, he called out to the bystanders, "Stand back, boys; let's have a fair fight." Here he furnished the keynote to his whole character as a soldier. Let's have a fair fight was his motto then, and to his death; and no man ever loved a fair fight better than he.

On April 12th, 1861, by lightning speed the terrible news was flashed over the world that the American flag had been dishonored; Sumter had fallen, and a call to arms was made. Here was Custer's first opportunity of good fortune. He graduated that year and was ready for military life. Although in the army myself from the beginning to the close of the war, it was not my fortune to meet my early companion and schoolmate until after the war was closed, and I must look elsewhere for facts concerning him and his career other than personal observation.

Fortunately, however, there is no lack of information upon the subject. The history of our country is replete with acts of his splendid achievements.

The trouble encountered by him on his graduation day being over, he was ordered to report for duty at Washington. There he met a friend who asked him if he would not like to see the Commander-in-Chief of the army, Gen. Winfield Scott. Accepting the opportunity he was presented to the veteran soldier; and at that very hour and day the General wanted a messenger by whom he could send a dispatch to McDowell at Bull Run.

It was on July 20th, 1861, the day preceding the battle. On being presented to the General the old veteran took an immediate fancy to this handsome young officer and selected him to be the bearer of his dispatch to McDowell, upon condition that he could be in readiness to go within an hour from that time. Custer agreed to go. And now his luck came to his aid again in securing for him a horse in Washington City, where every stable had been emptied by previous demands of civilians in procuring for themselves means of conveyance to the scene of battle, to take place the next day. He met a sergeant, who was going to the front with an extra horse, the very same on which the young cadet had learned to ride at West Point. He started at once for the scene of impending battle, riding alone all night long. Reaching headquarters early Sunday morning he delivered the dispatch intrusted to him by Gen. Scott to McDowell. After partaking of a hasty breakfast he joined his company then under McDowell at Centerville, which was among the last to leave the field on that fatal day bearing with them Gen. Heintzelman, who had been wounded.

Custer served with his company until Kearny was appointed Brigadier General of volunteers, who detailed him upon his staff, where he remained until the order was issued prohibiting regular army officers from doing staff duty. He again returned to his company after receiving flattering testimonials of his efficiency.

Moving with the army that followed up the evacuation of Manassas he was in the advance under Stoneman and made his first cavalry charge at Catlitt's Station. In this charge was drawn the first blood in the campaign under McClelland. Here

we might sweep the whole field of heroic action in which our young hero made so many brilliant and successful charges, achieving many victories and receiving compliments from his superior officers. I will, however hazard the risk of going somewhat into details, trusting that my readers will not consider them wearisome or trying on their patience.

After the army had invested Yorktown, Custer was detailed as assistant engineer under Gen. Sumner, in which position he threw up the nearest earthworks to the enemy's lines. He was in the advance under Hancock in the pursuit of the enemy from Yorktown, and at Williamsburg was aid-de-camp to Hancock and took the first battle flag captured by the army of the Potomac. He was the first to cross the Chickahomony, wading the river in full view of the rebel pickets; and for his gallantry was made a personal aid to McClelland with the rank of Captain. He took part in the seven days' battle in front of Richmond, marked out the position occupied by the Union forces at the battle of Gaines Mills, and participating in the campaign closing with Antietam and which ended McClelland's military career.

Custer's good luck saved him from the fate of his chieftain's ill-fortune and he was detailed to serve on the staff of General Stoneman, Chief of Cavalry to the Army of the Potomac, and subsequently on that of his successor, Gen. Pleasanton, with whom he took part in numerous cavalry engagements. When Pleasanton became Major General and in command of a cavalry corps, upon his recommendation, strongly endorsed by Hooker and Meade, his young aid-de-camp was made a Brigadier General and assigned to a brigade composed of Michigan Cavalry. At the battle of Gettysburg his services were conspicuous; his greatest achievement being the utter rout of Hampton's division of cavalry, which were endeavoring to reach and capture the train of the Union army. In this battle, he had two horses shot from under him, and during the retreat of the rebels he was sent to harass their rear. While in this pursuit he succeeded in capturing 1,800 prisoners and, in destroying Early's entire train.

In an engagement at Hagerstown he again had his horse shot from under him and at Falling Waters he attacked the enemy's rear guard, killing its commander and capturing 1,300 pris-

oners, 4 battle flags, 2 pieces of cannon, and utterly routing the enemy. During the ensuing fall he was constantly engaged in raids and skirmishes and in picketing the Rapidan between the two armies. The following spring he took part in the battle of the Wilderness and in May set out with Sheridan on his raid toward Richmond. Always in the advance, he captured Beaver Dam, burned the station with many supplies and released a large number of Union prisoners. Rejoining Grant on the Pamunky, he was again in the front and had another horse shot from under him. Being ordered to surprise the rebels near Trevillian Station, he was so unfortunate, through the failure of another command to co-operate, as to be surrounded. With five brigades against him, he fought desperately for three hours. One of his guns was captured twice and each time retaken. The color bearer was killed, but the General saved the flag from capture by tearing it from its staff and concealing it about his person. The arrival of the tardy reinforcements enabled him to extricate himself from his perilous position.

In Sheridan's great campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, Custer made a brilliant record, excelled only by his chief. When Sheridan reached the end of his famous twenty mile ride, his first orders were, "Go in Custer." He obeyed the order with such dash and effect that he captured forty-five out of the entire number of forty-eight pieces of artillery taken from the enemy, besides many prisoners, including a Major General. For this achievement he was brevetted a Major General of Volunteers and further honored by being detailed to bear the report of the battle and the captured flags to Washington.

On the 9th day of October, 1864, he routed the rebel Gen. Rosser, a classmate, captured many prisoners, pieces of artillery, and his entire train. In the winter he attacked with the force of 1,000 a force of 2,000 under Gen. Early. A rout and pursuit resulted in the capture of eighteen hundred prisoners, fourteen pieces of artillery, and a large wagon train, including Early's private baggage. The Union loss was one man killed and four wounded.

His services in the encircling of Richmond were conspicuous. At the battle of Dinwiddie Court House his division

reached the field when the Federal troops were slowly losing ground. Ordering the band to strike up a national air, he charged the advancing Confederate column so impetuously that it retreated over the lost ground.

At Sailor's Creek, Sheridan ordered Crook and Merret, the latter another classmate, to break the enemy's line and delay his retreat. Their efforts were not effectual. Sheridan then called for Custer and his division threw themselves upon the enemy with such impetuosity and dash that their horses actually leaped over the breast-works. This was his greatest cavalry charge. The captures consisted of seven general officers, among them Custis, son of Gen. Robt. E Lee, Ewell and a brother of the pirate Semmes, and five thousand prisoners. After the charge, the hero of it rode by Sheridan and a number of other superior officers, when three rousing cheers were given for the young hero.

He was in the advance when Lee's surrender took place and was the first to receive the white flag sent in by the rebel commander. After the surrender Gen. Sheridan purchased the table upon which the terms of peace were made and presented it to Mrs. Custer with the flattering words that he knew of no one more instrumental in bringing about this most desirable event than her most gallant husband.

This closes the war of the rebellion. The army was disbanded. Many officers seeing no chance of further distinction in the service, returned to civil life. Our young hero, who had worn a general's stars and swept the field with his columns of victorious horsemen, found himself wearing the modest leaves of a field officer in the regular army. Instead of a division of veteran troopers, he was reduced to a few companies of raw recruits in a newly organized regiment. Major General Custer, the brilliant, was transformed into plain Lieut. Col. Custer to await the slow process of promotion in the regular army, with the knowledge that no deed of his, however brilliant, could advance him out of the line of promotion a step higher.

In time of war when the best men are indispensable, it may do to promote for merit, but in times of peace the law of promotion must not be disregarded.

The only concession due to past services was found in taking

the field officers for the new regiments from among the young generals who had led the volunteers to victory in the Civil War.

It would seem now as if "Custer's Luck" could carry him no further; that nothing was left for him but to await at frontier posts for time to advance him in the regular order of promotion.

Indian warfare, since the confederation of tribes had ceased, has degenerated into an inglorious strife of small posts. The days when Harrison fought Tecumseh and rode into the White House to the tune of Tippecanoe are over. The contrast between those days and the present are so marked that comparison is impossible.

It would seem that there was no glory to be gained at the frontier, owing to the nature of the fighting. It is the difference between charging Early at Winchester and fighting Mosby's guerillas. There was everything to lose and little or nothing to gain in the contest. Irregular enemies, divided into small bands, living among their friends, with thousands of volunteer spies, who would appear only when it suited them and always in stronger force than the watching soldiers, dashing in upon wagon trains, waylaying small bodies, killing and destroying with little risk to themselves, and with their savage deeds accomplished they would vanish from effective pursuit at one point only to reappear at another hundreds of miles away in fresh deeds of daring.

This kind of warfare naturally developes only one side of a soldier's character; it is the proper domain of a captain of cavalry an affair of small parties, rapid marches, long raides, and vigilant outposts.

The qualities of generalship which prevailed in civilized warfare were of little value here where there was no visible enemy to fight, no formidable army to meet, no towns to capture, no roads to cut, or earth-works to leap over. Everything vulnerable was on the American side, and the army was reduced to the condition of defensive warfare pure and simple. Of all situations this is the most trying and distasteful to a born soldier: to a soldier like Custer it was peculiarly trying. It was under such circumstances and conditions with a regiment composed of new recruits that he went to the plains as an officer in the

Seventh Cavalry. Here his own experience availed him but little; he had to learn everything over again. But his quick perception and a mind that digested ideas rapidly enabled him to familiarize himself with the peculiarities of the Indian mode of warfare, so that he could fight them with their own stratagems and use against them their own peculiar deceptions and decoys.

The Indians have as perfect a system of signals as were ever introduced into civilized warfare. They can telegraph accurately with fires and columns of smoke; they can count an army within a score of its number, by the depth that a trail is worn; they can give within a dozen the number of horses in a column, by the amount of turf nibbled at the last feeding place; they can tell the speed, direction and strength of an army as far as the dust that rises from its feet is perceptible.

Custer learned all their signs until he knew them as accurately as they and we find his career here is marked by the same qualities that gave him success in the Civil War. Above all things he loved a charge, a fair fight, and always preferred the attack to the defense.

His first noted success on the plains was his expedition against Blackkettle's band on the Washita River. I will not stop here for any details but pass to his last and fatal campaign. And this is not the time nor place to consider the origin of the Sioux War of 1876. It is enough to say that it originated in the lust for gold.

The rush of miners to the Black Hills was the direct consequence of the government's inability to control the turbulent frontier population. But when the Sioux formally resolved on war, it became necessary to attack them to prevent them from attacking the frontier settlements, and to avoid an indiscriminate massacre of the innocent with the guilty.

The Government for this purpose assembled in the northwest three separate columns of troops. The first under Gen. Crook, who was to strike from Ft. Fetterman; the second under Gen. Gibben, who was to march westward from Ft. Ellis in Montana, and the third under Gen. Terry, who was to move southwest from the little village of Bismarck in the north of Dakota Territory; all three were to converge on the sources of

the Yellowstone River, where it was supposed that Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse and other turbulent chiefs had hidden their villages, and were preparing their forces for a grand raid.

To prevent this raid was the principal object of the campaign. The results show that the plans were faulty. Instead of 1,000 warriors, as was reported, Sitting Bull had from 2,500 to 3,000, and was able to oppose two to one of each of the converging columns by massing his forces against each successively.

The first news received was that he had struck Crook on the Rose Bud, surrounded him with a superior force and punished him severely, although the field of battle remained in Crook's possession. Crook was so badly crippled that he fell back and failed to disturb Sitting Bull's camp, the objective point of the expedition.

The next news came that Gibben had been stopped at the crossing of the river and that he too was unable to proceed. All hopes of the expedition now lay with Terry's column, which, starting later, was moving towards Gibben, and the camp of Sitting Bull. The most sanguine hopes were placed on the success of this column, chiefly for the reason that it contained Custer, the favorite of fortune, the most renowned Indian fighter of the plains, and the whole of the Seventh Cavalry. Was it to be wondered that high hopes were entertained by them and all their friends of their success on that occasion, when they were accompanied by a strong force of infantry and a battery of the renowned Gatling guns, and while every day brought them nearer to Gibben?

The junction was effected and the united forces, secure in their own strength, began to search for the enemy.

Major Reno of the fated Seventh was dispatched on a scouting expedition to hunt up Indian signs. He came across the broad and palpable track of a great Indian village on the march from the Valley of the Rose Bud and going straight toward the Little Horn. He had found the camp of Sitting Bull and returned at once to Terry to make his report.

Terry had not yet learned anything of the rough handling given to Crook's large force on the Rose Bud, nor the real strength of the enemy, and still supposed, as Crook had, that

Sitting Bull's band numbered less than a thousand warriors, which he would have to encounter. He was yet unadvised that the Sioux chief had been joined by the Arrapahoes and Cheyennes, as well as by other bands of his own nation.

Terry's fear was that Sitting Bull had already had notice of his approach and would probably escape if he followed with his entire column, encumbered as it would be by infantry and slow-moving wagons.

To catch the lively moving Indians it was necessary to be as light as they, and there was the whole Seventh Cavalry, with its renowned leader, famous for successful enterprises of the same sort.

Custer was therefore detached with his regiment as an independent command, and moved forward by forced marches to the attack. The story of what followed is brief. Custer pushed on straight up the Rose Bud to its junction with the Little Horn where he found the whole force of the Indians camped along the river; and here we have his last recorded saying, when he saw the Sioux camp, "Custer's luck! the biggest Indian village on the continent! Forward!" He strikes the center of a line of lodges several miles long and the enemy was waiting for him.

The conflict ensued in which the young leader soon found himself surrounded with no possible chance of success; but one thing was left for him and his soldiers and that was to die fighting and thereby impress the Indians with respect for the white man.

Thus Custer, his two brothers, nephew, brother-in-law, and his entire command of nearly 300 mounted officers and men, yielded up their lives on the 25th of June, 1876.

Not a man was left, no friend surviving to tell the terrible story, or give an account of the desperate and heroic conflict.

All is left to conjecture, excepting what may be gathered from one touching and most affecting circumstance. In the midst of a circle of dead bodies, which marked the last standing of the remnant that was left, lay the body of the young hero, with a bullet in his brain and one in his breast, but *unmutilated*, the only body to which belonged this distinction.

This shows that in all that band of heroes who were found

lying dead on the field where they had fought, brave as they were, he was found to be the bravest, so magnificent in his courage that even his savage foes were impressed with and revered his valor.

He here found the one thing needed to complete his character as an ideal hero of romance, a glorious and terrible death on the field of battle. No jarring chord disturbs the harmony of his career. His death is the only case on record in the annals of Indian warfare in which the spirit of self-sacrifice and lofty heroism may be compared with that of Leonidas, the Spartan King at the pass of death. From a material point of view alone the life of such a man may seem sad in its close; but in the grander schemes of human affairs which recognize death as a mere passage to illimitable freedom, his life is rounded and perfect, by tragic and heroic death. Happy is the young genius who has compressed the human experience of three score years and ten into thirty-six, and dies with his fame still perfect and complete. At the age when other men are beginning to emerge from the crowd these few set apart from the rest, have practically ended their career.

History as well as literature furnish many examples of young persons who were the very embodiment of early success, fortunate in everything they undertook, but whose lives were short. They came flashing from the multitude and vanished as swiftly as they came, leaving behind only a halo of light. Such, for example, were Alexander of Macedon, Titus the Conqueror of Jerusalem, and Don John of Austria, who won the battle of Lepanto at 24 and died as early. Who would not be a Summerfield, the divine, dead at 30, with no stain on his name, his life a story of perfect beauty?

Compare these young heroes with those who have outlived their fortunes. The brilliant Alcibiades, with all the world at his feet at 20, at 40 was disgraced and murdered.

Napoleon Bonaparte at 36 was the ruler of Europe and had he died before Waterloo would have stood in all history the grandest military character the world ever saw.

Could Marshall Ney have died on the field at Waterloo when he called to his comrades, "Come and see how a Marshall of

France dies upon the field of battle." — what a brilliant life his would then have been; but he did not die. Unfortunate man! he was reserved for French bullets.

Never, perhaps, has there been a more perfect example of the completeness of good fortune from his first appearance on the field of battle to his final and heroic death than he whose life and character is the theme of the hour. The manner of his death has given an interest to his name such as few have attained in a contest with savages. To Custer alone it was reserved to join a romantic life of perfect success to a death of perfect heroism; to unite the splendors of Austerlitz and Thermopylæ; to charge like Murat; to die like Leonidas.

All through his life, however, was a vein of romantic eccentricity which was manifested by his peculiarities in dress. He seldom wore the prescribed uniform of the army, but generally attached his insignia of rank to a more or less fantastic dress, and when killed he wore a handsomely embroidered buckskin hunting suit, somewhat resembling the Indian dress.

Many romantic stories are told of those famous curls. Some have said that he wore them because of a vow never to cut them until Richmond was taken, but such was hardly the fact, for at one time during the Wilderness Campaign he became so gloomy and low-spirited on account of unfavorable opportunity for a favorite charge in the open field that he actually cut off his curls. The truth lies doubtless in another direction: They were in harmony with the man, his romantic spirit and desire to attract attention.

Call to mind Custer in the Grand Review at Washington, the runaway horse with his wreath of flowers, the long curls of his rider as he dashed past the grand stand which brought him before the people in the journals of the day as the most conspicuous figure seen on that day.*

* The Editor of the *QUARTERLY* was a privileged witness of the incident recalled by Judge Voorhees, having a position within a few feet of President Johnson and General Grant. The Grand Review presented, on May 23-24, 1865, the returning veterans of the Union Army to the number of 250,000, comprising portions of the armies of the Potomac and Mississippi. The march began at the Capitol and the almost endless columns of the Boys in Blue, worn and torn from the campaigns of

The fame he won is reflected upon the little village of his birth. "The whole earth," said Pericles in one of his orations, "is the sepulchre of illustrious men," and he might have added, "All time is the millennium of their glory."

No injustice is done to the many other noble names that have become illustrious in our late civil war by bestowing so much honor on one; but they on the contrary, I am sure, will readily join us in saying that throughout all time and the whole civilized world wherever the accounts of the war are read in the glorious annals of our common country, there will be no brighter page than that which relates the daring deeds of George A. Custer. Ohio is proud to claim him as her son and to exult in his name; but he was the representative of the nation and defended her flag and the nation enrolls him among her heroes. But her limits are too circumscribed to bound his fame. The time in which he lived claims him as the new Leonidas with his noble kin slain in that wild Thermopylæ of the West.

the South, passed down Pennsylvania Avenue and thence to Georgetown. It was one of the most patriotic and inspiring scenes of history, recalling the military pageants of ancient Rome, the days when the conquering consuls returned to the city of the Tiber and amid the "pomp and circumstance of war" proceeded with the procession of their heroes in proud triumph to the Capitol. General Custer rode a splendid charger at the head of his division. The ladies had encircled both rider **and** horse with garlands of flowers. Just before reaching the reviewing stand the brave and handsome general, shackled by his floral adornments, lost control of his fiery steed which proceeded to improve the opportunity and enliven the occasion by dashing by at break-neck pace. The general, hatless, his long flowing, golden curls, streaming in the air, gracefully retaining his saddle, but unable to proffer the conventional salute, as he sped by, laughingly ducked his head at the President, amid the cheers and plaudits of the admiring and amused soldiers and spectators.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO
STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HIS-
TORICAL SOCIETY.

(June 9, 1906.)

The Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was held in the lecture room of the Y. M. C. A. Building, Columbus, at 1:30 P. M., June 9, 1906. The following members were present:

Rev. J. W. Atwood, Columbus; Judge J. H. Anderson, Columbus; Prof. M. R. Andrews, Marietta; Mr. E. H. Archer, Columbus; Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; Prof. F. T. Cole, Columbus; Mr. S. D. Cone, Hamilton; Mr. A. B. Coover, Columbus; Dr. D. H. Gard, Columbus; Col. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati; Mr. W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe; Rev. I. F. King, Columbus; Prof. J. D. H. McKinley, Columbus; Prof. C. L. Martzloff, New Lexington; Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus; Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield; Prof. E. O. Randall, Columbus; Mr. J. S. Roof, Ashville; Rev. H. A. Thompson, Dayton; Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus; Prof. G. F. Wright, Oberlin.

Messages of regret for inability to attend the meeting were received from: Bishop B. W. Arnett, Wilberforce; Mr. W. E. Connelley, Topeka, Kans.; Hon. Albert Douglas, Chillicothe; Mr. N. W. Evans, Portsmouth; Hon. M. B. Follett, Marietta; Mr. Philip Hinkle, Cincinnati; Gen. J. Warren Keifer, Springfield; Rev. N. B. C. Love, Toledo; Hon. R. R. Sloane, Sandusky; Hon. F. W. Treadway, Cleveland; and Gen. A. J. Warner, Marietta.

The meeting was called to order by the President, General R. Brinkerhoff. The Secretary, Mr. Randall, was called upon for the minutes of the previous meeting, held June 2, 1905. In order to save time, he referred to the minutes of that meeting as published in Volume 14, pages 330 and 353, inclusive. He stated that the minutes of that meeting were taken verbatim

and were incorporated in his bound volume of the proceedings of the Society, but were entirely too lengthy for reading here. The members had, in their printed volume (14) a condensation of the minutes as taken in full, and it would not even be necessary to read them, as it would take the best part of an hour. This reading was dispensed with, and the minutes as printed (volume 14) were adopted as the correct minutes of the meeting:

The President then delivered the following address:

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT BRINKERHOFF.

Another year, the twenty-first, has rolled around and we are together again as the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. During the past year there has been only one vacancy, which was caused by the death of Mr. S. S. Rickly, our old friend, who has been with us since the origin of the Society. Mr. Randall prepared an obituary, which was published in the Quarterly, and it will not be necessary to refer to it at this meeting. Nothing unusual has occurred to us during the past year, except the acquisition of Big Bottom Park. Our Society has been prosperous and has done its work faithfully during the past year, of which you will have a full report by the Secretary and Curator.

Last year, as you will remember, I presented reasons for a building for the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, that our collections had grown enormously and they were continuing to grow and we have not a place to put them. Then again, the State Library has outgrown its accommodations and it was thought desirable to combine these institutions, the State Library and the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and during the winter a bill was prepared by our committee and presented in the Senate. This bill Mr. Randall will explain; it was bill No. 195 in the Senate. It was a bill to appoint a proper commission to locate a site and erect a building. It seeks to appropriate a sum of \$400,000 for the erection of such a building. That bill was reported favorably by the Library Committee and is on the calendar of the Senate and will come up for action early in the adjourned session of the legislature which will meet in two years; and we feel it is very important in the interval that the members of our Society urge upon the minds of the legislators the importance of the legislation desired. We feel quite confident that when the legislature meets again provision will be made for some sort of a building.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

(For the year June 2, 1905, to June 9, 1906.)

PUBLICATIONS.

Since the last Annual Meeting of the Society, the Quarterly has been issued regularly as follows:

July, 1905, (No. 3, Vol. 14); October, 1905, (No. 4 Vol. 14); these two numbers complete Volume 14, of which several hundred copies were put in bound form; January, 1906, (No. 1, Vol. 15); and April, 1906, (No. 2, Vol. 15). Eighteen hundred of these Quarterlies are now printed; copies are sent to the members of the Society; to about three hundred and fifty of the chief newspapers; to many libraries of the State and exchange libraries in other states, and to about one hundred and fifty historical and literary societies throughout the country. Copies not immediately disposed of are held in reserve for exchange and incidental demands. The character of these regular publications of the Society can be judged from the contents as they appear. They are more and more in demand by societies, libraries, teachers and historical students in every state and abroad.

The Editor receives many times the amount of material requisite for the contents of the Quarterly. Manuscripts are received from all parts of the state from voluntary contributors who are desirous of appearing in the Quarterly and the editor has no little difficulty in exercising discrimination as to which of these articles deserve recognition and publication. The policy pursued is to confine the articles selected to subjects exclusively pertinent to the history, biography and archæology of Ohio, and such articles only as are presented by writers of accuracy and authority. The main purpose of the society publications is to gather, publish and disseminate information suitable for the general reader of Ohio history, biography and archæology. The publications of no state historical society reach so many readers as do those of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Our work is especially recognized by the schools and colleges of the state.

In November, 1905, the Society issued a volume of one hundred and eighty pages upon the "Ohio Canals." A complete and concise statement of this subject has never before appeared and has long been demanded both by the state officials and others interested therein. The little volume issued comprises not only an accurate and thorough account of the origin, construction and abandonment of the canals but also a detailed official statement of their cost, method of raising the funds by the state for the completion and maintenance of the canals, their effect upon the financial and industrial interests of the commonwealth. The material for this volume was prepared by Messrs C. C. Huntington and

C. P. McClelland, two competent post-graduates of the Ohio State University, under the personal direction of Professor J. E. Hagerty, Department of Political Science and Economics. This book has widely attracted the notice of students and professors and is a most valuable contribution to Ohio economic literature. One thousand copies were issued, two hundred in cloth binding and eight hundred in paper. Copies were sent not only to members of the Society, but also to each member of the newly elected Seventy-seventh General Assembly.

The Society also published in November, 1905, a little volume of one hundred and twenty-five pages, prepared by Secretary Randall at the request of the Society Trustees upon the "Serpent Mound, Its History and Mystery." This monograph also deals at some length with the serpent worship among primitive races, and its relation to the religion of the Mound Builders. It is particularly fitted to be a guide book and compendium of information for those who visit Serpent Mound and wish to learn all that may be known concerning that wonderful work of a vanished race. It has received, flattering notice from some of the leading publications of the country. One thousand copies of this book were issued, six hundred copies of which were bound in cloth and four hundred in paper. It was sent not only to the members of the Society, but also to the members of the Seventy-seventh General Assembly.

The exhaustive and scholarly report by Professor W. C. Mills of his archæological explorations in the summer of 1904, which report appeared in the January, 1906, *QUARTERLY*, has also been printed in separate pamphlet form for distribution to those who are especially interested in the archæological work of the Society.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

Since the Annual Meeting of the Society, June 2, 1905, the Executive Committee has held meetings as follows

June 19, 1905, in the rooms of the Columbus Public Library, at which meeting the salaries were determined of the various officers who receive compensation for their services. Mr. A. B. Coover was employed as assistant to Prof. W. C. Mills in the Museum and Library. Standing Committees for the year were selected as follows:

Finance — Messrs. Rickly, Ryan and Bareis.

Fort Ancient — Messrs. Prince, Harper and Bareis.

Serpent Mound — Messrs. Martzloff, Hunter and Randall.

Museum and Library — Messrs. Wright, Martzloff and Brinkerhoff.

Publications — Messrs. Ryan, Keifer and Randall.

Executive Committee meetings were held in the Columbus Public Library, August 28, 1905; October 25, 1905; and November 24, 1905.

Hon. S. S. Rickly, Trustee and Treasurer, died November 22d. An extended sketch of Mr. Rickly and his services to the Society appeared in the *Quarterly* of the Society for January, 1906. The funeral of Mr.

Rickly occurred on the afternoon of November 24, at the Reform Church, Columbus and was attended by Messrs. Bareis, Hunter, Martzloff, Prince, Randall, Thompson, Wood and Mills. The meeting of the Executive Committee was held after the funeral. Immediate action was required as to the election of the successor to Mr. Rickly. Mr. E. F. Wood was elected Trustee to succeed Mr. Rickly. This election by the Executive Committee could only obtain until the next annual meeting of the Society. Mr. Wood was also elected to succeed Mr. Rickly as Treasurer. No election of Assistant Treasurer was held. Mr. Wood subsequently gave bond of \$5,000 as Treasurer and took charge of the office.

The Executive Committee also met in the Directors' Room of the Ohio State Savings & Loan Association, Outlook Building, January 25, 1906; March 24, 1906, and May 9, 1906, at which meetings merely routine business was transacted.

ITINERARY OF THE OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

On June 7th, 1905, the Secretary attended the annual meeting of the Richland County Historical Society, held in the G. A. R. Rooms, Memorial Building, Mansfield, Ohio, on which occasion he delivered an address on "Some Phases of Early Ohio History."

On July 5th, 1905, the Secretary participated in the exercises of the Centennial Celebration of Champaign County, held at Urbana, Ohio, delivering an address in the afternoon of Pioneer and Home-coming Day, his subject being "The Builders of the Buckeye State." (See pages 470-472, Volume 14.)

On August 3d, 1905, the Secretary accompanied President Brinkerhoff and Messrs. A. J. Baughman and M. B. Bushnell, Life Members of the Society, and Mr. Peter Bisman and Mr. M. D. Frazier, Editor of the *Mansfield Herald*, upon a visit to the far-famed watershed barn, situated on the Craig farm, near Five Corners, in Springfield township, some seven miles from Mansfield.

On August 17th, 1905, the Secretary in company with Trustee C. L. Martzloff, and Mr. C. L. Bozman, visited Stockport, Morgan county, for the purpose of conferring with Mr. Obadiah Brokaw concerning the transfer by the latter of the Big Bottom Park to the Society.

On August 18th, 1905, the Secretary paid a trip to Chillicothe and thence to the Harness Mounds for the purpose of viewing the excavations being made at that point by Prof. W. C. Mills, the Curator of the Society. This was one of the most successful and valuable explorations by Mr. Mills and will be in due time reported in full by him.

On August 25th, 1905, the Secretary made a trip to Sidney, whence in company with Judge E. L. Hoskins, Mr. H. R. McVey, Superintendent of Schools, and Mr. A. J. Hess, President of the Board of Education, a visit was made to the former residence of John Johnson, for many years the government agent for the Ohio Indians; the site of the old stockade

Fort Pickiwilliny, and the site of the last battle of the French and Indian War, and thence to the location of old Fort Laramie, on the banks of the Loramie Creek. The party was met at Fort Laramie site, which is on the farm of Mr. F. C. Arkenberg, by Mr. F. G. Uhrich, Superintendent of Schools at Loramie, who gave the party much valuable information concerning the history of the fort.

On August 29th, 1905, Trustee Martzloff and Secretary Randall visited Serpent Mound, where they made an extended and thorough examination of the park, both as to the bottom lands of Brush Creek and the improvements in all sections of the property which had been made under the direction of Mr. Wallace. Mr. Wallace has been most faithful in his duties and the park was never in more excellent condition than now.

There is a project on foot by an incorporated company to build an electric line from Hillsboro to Peebles, which line will pass by the gate of the Serpent Mound Park. At the request of the electric line company, Secretary Randall prepared an article on Serpent Mound to be inserted in the prospectus of the company.

After visiting Serpent Mound, Messrs. Martzloff and Randall drove to Butler's Hotel, some two or three miles from Fort Hill, where they remained over night, and early next morning (August 31) ascended Fort Hill, and spent several hours in inspecting the remains of that stone fort, one of the most extensive and best preserved stone enclosures of the Mound Builders in the state of Ohio. The hill and fort are now the property of the son of Mr. J. E. Easton, who lives at the base of the hill. Messrs. Martzloff and Randall journeyed by way of Peebles to Portsmouth, thence to Piketon, Pike county, where they inspected the famous "Graded Way," with the purpose of making observations as to whether or not it were an artificial or natural structure. Both were inclined to think it was a work of nature, mostly if not entirely. This view was particularly shared by Professor Martzloff, who has given much study to the subject of geology and natural surface formations.

On September 7th, 1905, the Secretary, upon special invitation of President Hunt of Denison University, formed one of the party consisting of Governor Herrick, Mr. Wade Ellis, Attorney General, Mr. Tod B. Galloway, Secretary to the Governor, and Colonel B. L. Bargar, in a visit to Granville, Licking county, to attend the exercises of that day pertinent to the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Granville.

On September 10th, 1905, Professor B. F. Prince visited Fort Ancient on business connected with the care of the same by Custodian Cowen.

On September 17th, 1905, the Secretary visited Fort Ancient, where he remained for some two days inspecting the fort and consulting with Mr. Warren Cowen, the custodian, as to the condition of the fort and proposed improvements to be made by the Society.

On September 30th, 1905, the Secretary with President Brinkerhoff, Trustees W. H. Hunter, M. R. Andrews, D. J. Ryan, C. L. Martzloff, participated in the exercises accompanying the donation of the park by

Mr. Obadiah Brokaw to the Society and the commemoration of the event which the monument erected thereon perpetuates. A full account by Prof. Martzolff of this celebration is published in the Society's *Quarterly* for January, 1906.

The deed, dated September 5th, 1905, of Obadiah Brokaw and Lidia Brokaw, his wife, recites that in consideration of the sum of one dollar and other valuable considerations hereinafter set forth, the property consisting of about two acres (properly described) is granted, remised, released and forever warranted to the Society, on the condition that the Society elect the grantor, Obadiah Brokaw, a Life Member, and upon the further consideration that the Society "shall keep the lands herein conveyed properly inclosed and protected from destruction and injury by the public, to maintain the same as a free public park" and that the Society "shall erect no buildings of any description whatsoever upon said premises; and that it shall not sell, lease or rent said property or any part thereof for any purpose whatsoever."

On November 4th, 1905, the Secretary accompanied by Trustee Prince, again visited Fort Ancient to confer with Mr. Cowen concerning the proposed addition to the custodian's house.

On November 22d, 1905, Trustee Martzolff made a trip to Stockport on business concerning Big Bottom Park, and then proceeded to Lebanon, where he secured some valuable donations to the Society.

On November 29th and 30th, 1905, Professor W. C. Mills, as the representative of the Society, attended the annual meeting of the Ohio Academy of Science, the sessions of which were held in the University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, and at which upwards of sixty papers on scientific subjects were read and discussed. Professor Mills, on behalf of the Society, presented four papers upon different subject pertaining to the archaeology of Ohio.

The Secretary, who had been appointed by the Executive Committee to represent the Society at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, to be held at Baltimore and Washington on December 26th to 29th, inclusive, was unable to go, and in accordance with the previous request of the Executive Committee, Professor B. F. Prince went as the representative of the Society. Of this meeting Professor Prince made a report to the Executive Committee at its meeting on January 25th, 1906.

On April 29th, 1906, Curator Mills, as the representative of the Society, addressed the Men's Club of Toledo, in the Episcopal Church, his subject being "The Ohio Explorations."

On April 30th, 1906, in company with Professor Prince and Colonel Harper, the Secretary again visited Fort Ancient to inspect the completion of the addition to the house made by Custodian Cowen.

On May 15th, 1906, Curator Mills, as the representative of the Society, attended the meeting of the National Museum Association, held in New York City.

On May 29th, 1906, Curator Mills delivered an address upon "The

Mound Builders and the Ohio Explorations," at the Third Street Presbyterian Church at Dayton.

APPROPRIATIONS.

On December 1st, 1905, after consultation with members of the Finance Committee of the Executive Committee, the Secretary made out a budget of the Society for the Auditor of State, containing the following items for 1906: \$2,700 for current expenses, \$2,500 for museum and field work, and \$2,800 for publications; for 1907, \$2,700 for current expenses, \$2,500 for museum and field work, and \$2,800 for publications. The Finance Committee of the House (Hon. D. W. Baldwin, Chairman), allowed in the partial appropriation bill, \$750 for current expenses, \$750 for publications and nothing for museum and field work. In the general appropriation bill for 1906, the Finance Committee of the House granted \$1,950 for current expenses, thus making a total for 1906 of \$2,700 (the amount asked for), for current expenses. The Finance Committee allowed \$2,800 for publications (the amount asked for), but it allowed only \$2,000 for museum and field work, the amount which had been asked and received two years ago. The other items, for publication and current expenses, respectively, being the same that was allowed and asked for two years ago. The policy of the Finance Committee of the House was to grant no increase in any department unless absolutely necessary and very many departments were seriously trimmed. The first appropriation bill passed the House and Senate without opposition, either in the committee or on the floor, to the items for the Society.

In the second appropriation bill (for 1907) the Finance Committee of Senate and House allowed the same amounts as in the first, viz, those asked for by the Society except that only \$2,000 was granted for museum and field work where \$2,500 had been requested.

At the request of many members of the House and Senate it was agreed that a special item of \$9,600 should be inserted in the second appropriation bill (for 1907) for the reprinting of the fifteen annual volumes, ten complete sets to go to each member of the Seventy-seventh General Assembly, the sets to be boxed and delivered by the Society without expense to the members. After this second bill had been introduced in the House, with the approval of Chairman Baldwin, it was amended by Representative Wertz so as to include an additional special appropriation of \$4,000 for the reprinting of the volume of the Centennial Celebration proceedings of 1903; fifty copies to go to each member of the legislature. The bill as thus amended passed the House without opposition and later passed the Senate with no opposing vote.

The Secretary desires to report that in all his dealings with the legislators during the past session he met with invariable courtesy and consideration, especially by the members of the Finance Committee of the House and Senate.

THE BUILDING PROJECT.

Perhaps the most interesting and important subject concerning which the Secretary has to speak is the time-honored and perennial one known as the Building Project. The securing of a building for a home and headquarters of this Society has ever been the dream of both members and officers. There is a saying that the dream of one age is the realization of the next. It begins to look as though that saying might prove true in our case. Certainly the initiative has been taken and the practical consideration of the subject commenced. It will be recalled that this subject was discussed at the last annual meeting of the Society, but no definite action was taken, it being tacitly referred to the Executive Committee for consideration. At the meeting of the Executive Committee, January 26, 1906, the Secretary brought the matter before the committee, stating that the State Librarian, Mr. C. B. Galbreath, and the Library Commission had practically come to the conclusion that it would be feasible for them to co-operate with the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society in the erection of a building, said building to be preferably located in the center of the city if it could be there located, if not, upon the Ohio State University Campus, suitable quarters for both institutions in any event to be provided in the same building. After the regular appropriation for the Society had been substantially secured, the matter of a building was taken up by Messrs. Galbreath and Randall. Hon. D. W. Crist, Chairman of the Senate Library Committee and formerly a member of the House from Columbiana county, stated that he thought the time was opportune for the introduction of a bill for the joint purpose proposed if the Library and the Society were sufficiently united in the movement. The Library must have in the immediate future larger quarters. It was not to be expected that the legislature would provide two separate buildings, one for the State Library and one for the State Historical Society. Under the direction of the State Librarian and the Secretary of the Society, a bill was drawn up providing for an appropriation of \$400,000 for the securing of a site and the erection of a building for the combined purpose of the two institutions. This bill, known as Senate Bill No. 195, was introduced by Senator Crist on March 5, 1906, and read for the first time. The second reading occurred on March 6, when the bill was referred to the Library Committee, consisting of Senators Gayman, Denman, Meck, Atwell and Crist. It was duly considered by the Library Committee and reported back by the committee on March 27, with the approval of the committee and the request that it be placed upon the calendar and action upon it be postponed until the adjourned session in 1908. This action was taken with the informal consent of the Senate Finance Committee, to which in the regular order of proceedings the bill should have first been referred, as it called for an appropriation. The bill thus inaugurated and promoted becomes what is known as a

"live bill" and will be taken up in the adjourned session and acted upon, As the session in 1908 will be composed of the same members as the present one, the bill will be taken from the calendar with more or less support at the outset and it is confidently expected that by that time a majority of the members of the legislature will become favorable to the bill or to some modification of the same. The bill is as follows:

MR. CRIST,

S. B. No. 195.

A BILL

To provide for acquiring by gift or purchase, a suitable site upon which to erect a state building for the use of the state library and the state archæological and historical society.

WHEREAS, The quarters now occupied by the state library are entirely inadequate to its needs, present and prospective; and

WHEREAS, The museum and library of the state archæological and historical society occupy temporarily rooms in buildings of the Ohio state university that are unsuited for these collections, and much needed for other purposes; and

WHEREAS, The rooms now occupied by the state library are needed for the senate and state officers. Therefore,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

SECTION 1. That there is hereby constituted a board to be known as the state building commission, to be composed of the governor and attorney general, ex-officio, and three citizens of the state, one to be chosen by the board of library commissioners and to be one of said commissioners or the state librarian, one to be chosen by the state archæological and historical society from its membership, and one to be appointed by the governor, within thirty days after the passage of this act. Said state building commission shall have authority to select and acquire a site suitable for the erection of a state building which shall be of sufficient dimensions to furnish accommodations for the state library and the museum and library of the state archæological and historical society.

SECTION 2. Said commission is hereby vested with full authority to select a site for such building and to acquire title thereto, by gift or purchase, in the name of the state of Ohio; provided, however, that if such commission should be unable to acquire a suitable site by gift or at a price deemed by it reasonable and proper, it is hereby vested with power and authority to erect the building, hereinafter provided for, upon the state house grounds, at the corner of Broad and Third streets, or at the corner of State and Third streets, or upon the grounds of the Ohio state university, at some place mutually agreed upon by said commission and the trustees of the Ohio state university.

SECTION 3. Forthwith upon the acquisition of the title to such site or the location of said building upon the state house grounds or the grounds of the Ohio state university, said commission shall publicly request the presentation, within a reasonable time thereafter, to be designated in such request, of competitive plans and specifications with accompanying estimates for such building or alternate designs as said commission may determine upon. And said commission shall thereupon select from the plans presented the one by them deemed the most suitable and appropriate, and which shall comply with the terms of this act, and shall employ either the architect whose plan is selected, or some other competent

architect to furnish specifications and complete working plans for said building. And said commission may, in requesting the presentation of such plans, offer a prize or prizes, not to exceed five in number, for the most suitable plans presented, to be by said commission awarded, and said commission is authorized to expend not more than one thousand dollars (\$1,000) for such purpose.

SECTION 4. Upon the completion of such specifications and working plans said commission shall have general charge and control of the contracting, construction and erection of said building, but they shall be governed and controlled by chapter 1, title 6, of the Revised Statutes of Ohio, relating to public buildings, so far as applicable. Said commission shall exercise general control and supervision of the erection of said building, and shall have power to employ a competent superintendent of construction to superintend the same and employ such other assistants as may be necessary. And said commission shall, as far as practicable in the construction of such building, employ Ohio labor and use material native to this state. Such building shall be completed within two years from the time suitable land is acquired or from the time that said commission finds itself unable to acquire suitable land and decides to locate said building on the state house grounds or the Ohio state university grounds.

SECTION 5. Said commission shall elect one of their own number as chairman, and shall have power to employ a clerk, who, in addition to such other duties as may be assigned to him by said commission, shall keep full and accurate minutes of all proceedings of said commission, including copies of all contracts, plans and specifications, which shall at all times be open to public inspection. Said commission is also fully empowered to fix the compensation of said clerk, and of said superintendent of construction and other assistants, and to determine the sums to be paid to architects who submit plans for said building. The member of said commission appointed by the governor shall receive compensation for his services under this act for a period of not to exceed two and one-half years from the passage of this act, of one thousand dollars (\$1,000) per annum, and shall receive no other compensation, but all the expenses of the commission for books, stationery and other supplies shall be paid out of the treasury of the state on the warrant of the auditor of the state, to be issued upon a requisition of said commission.

SECTION 6. The majority of said members shall be competent to exercise any authority which this act vests in said commission, including the making of any and all contracts.

SECTION 7. If any officer above designated shall retire from office before the completion of said building, his successor in office shall be his successor as a member of said commission, or if the member appointed, or any member elected, shall retire from the commission, the authority by which he was appointed or elected shall name his successor in the manner provided in section 1 of this act.

SECTION 8. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) is hereby appropriated out of any money in the state treasury to the credit of the general revenue fund, not otherwise appropriated. And the further sum of two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) is hereby appropriated out of any money in the state treasury to the credit of the general revenue fund, not otherwise appropriated, subject to draft on and after February 15, 1907. Said appropriations shall be paid out on warrants issued by the auditor of the state, upon requisitions and estimates signed by the authority of the state building commission; provided, that said commission shall not accept any plan or enter into any contract or contracts that

will contemplate or provide for a total expenditure of an amount in excess of four hundred thousand dollars (\$400,000) for the purposes covered by this act. And further provided, that said building, when fully completed, equipped and ready for occupancy, shall not cost an amount in excess of said sum of four hundred thousand dollars (\$400,000).

SECTION 9. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the last annual meeting (June 2, 1905), there have been received into Life Membership of the Society the following: Mr. Obadiah Brokaw, Stockport; Mr. Charles L. Bozman, McConnelsville; Hon. B. G. Dawes, Marietta; Hon. George H. Ketcham, Toledo; Hon. Francis W. Treadway, Cleveland; Mr. John Seip, Chillicothe; Mr. Almer Hegler, Washington C. H.; Mr. J. S. Roof, Ashville; Mr. C. Earl Dougan, McConnelsville; Dr. Daniel D. Berolzheimer, New York, N. Y.; and Hon. John H. Patterson, Dayton.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR.

In my last report I stated that every available space granted us in Page Hall had been utilized for exhibition purposes, but during the year I was compelled to remodel the display room to make space enough for eight more cases which were used at the Universal Exposition, St. Louis. All of these cases were used to display the specimens received during our recent explorations. This relieved the situation for a short time, but at present we have many hundred specimens with no available room for their exhibition, and our only hope lies in securing the passage of the bill introduced at the last session of the Legislature to provide an adequate building to meet our present and future needs. During the past year many private collections have been received. A collection of 450 pieces was received by prepaid freight from an unknown donor. Mr. Thomas J. Brown, Waynesville, sent to the museum his entire collection of 246 archaeological specimens. Capt. I. N. Hook, Stockport, a collection of 178 archaeological specimens, together with a few valuable historical specimens, such as first millstones used at Fort Harmer, first salt kettle used in Ohio, officers' chest war of 1812, grandfather's clock, etc. Mr. David R. Safford, Columbus, presented a small collection of archaeological specimens consisting of 11 copper pieces and an amulet of polished stone taken from a mound in Gallia county. Mr. H. C. McNeil, Columbus, presented a fine copper bracelet taken from a mound. Mr. Almer Hegler, Washington C. H., presented the remainder of his archaeological collection consisting of 227 specimens. Mr. H. L. Fishback, Columbus, presented a sheet of 20 bills, uncut, denomination of 25 sols each, such as were used in paying the soldiers of Napoleon's army; also one cap-lock single barreled pistol. Mr. John Seip, Chillicothe, presented his entire collection of archaeological specimens numbering 2,201 pieces, all collected

in the Paint Creek Valley and vicinity. Mr. Seip also presented 31 historical papers concerning the early days of Chillicothe.

During the year the field explorations were conducted in Jackson and Ross counties. In Jackson county the greater part of the time was taken up in examining a number of Rock Shelters in the vicinity of the City of Jackson. This examination showed that the Rock Shelter was not a permanent abode of aboriginal man and was only occupied by him during the hunting season or while securing salt from the many salt springs in the neighborhood. We also exposed and photographed a number of pictured rocks in the northern part of the county. The latter part of the season was spent in finishing the explorations of the Harness Mound, Ross county, which was begun two years ago. This mound proved to be the most interesting and valuable of all the mounds so far examined by the Society, although the mound had been previously examined by explorers during half a century past and the artifacts taken therefrom scattered throughout the United States, and some taken by Squier and Davis are in the Blackmore Museum, England. We removed the entire mound, unearthing 133 burials, all of which had been cremated except five. From the graves were taken 12,209 specimens, which are now catalogued and placed on exhibition in the museum. The specimens consist of more than 100 pieces of copper, pipes, beads, knives, bone awls and needles, cut ocean shells, obsidian, woven fabric, human jaws perforated and worn for ornament, mica cut into designs and many objects made of flint, bone and shell.

The library has also kept pace with former years and we now have 2,802 volumes recorded in the accession book with many volumes now ready to be recorded, two very liberal contributions having been recently made, but not yet entered. The first of the latter donations was received through Prof. Martzoff and embracing 89 volumes from the library of Gov. Thomas Corwin. Most of these volumes are Government Statistics. The second donation comes from the estate of the late Alfred Kelly, formerly resident of Columbus, and consists of 86 volumes, many pertaining to early Ohio history.

During the year I completed my report upon the "Baum Village Site" and it was published in the January (1906) *QUARTERLY*. I am now engaged upon my report of the Harness Mound and hope to have it ready for the January *QUARTERLY*, 1907.

All of the curator's spare time has been used in working upon the card catalogue and we now have recorded upon our accession book, and a card catalogue made of, 20,177 specimens, all secured from the explorations of the Baum Village Site, Gartner Mound and Village Site and the Harness Mound.

I have planned for the present season to examine a portion of the Seip Group of Mounds, situated along Paint Creek, about two miles from Bainbridge. These mounds have never been examined by any explorer and we look for splendid results.

I wish to thank the officers and members of the Executive Committee who have aided me in many ways to make my work pleasant and agreeable.

W. C. MILLS, *Curator*.

Supplemental to his formal report Professor Mills brought before the Society the matter of the Jamestown Centennial Celebration, which will be held at Jamestown, Virginia, from May to November, 1907, commemorative of the establishment of the Jamestown settlement in 1607. The commission appointed by Governor Pattison to have charge of the Ohio exhibit for this centennial consists of Mr. Clive C. Handy, Wauseon, Mr. Ernest Root, Medina, Mr. John P. Given, Circleville, Mr. B. W. Campbell, Cincinnati and Professor George W. Knight, Columbus, the latter being the acting secretary. The legislature placed at the disposal of this commission \$75,000 for the Ohio exhibit. The Ohio Commission desires to have an exhibit in the proposed Ohio Building, of historical relics and archæological specimens by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and have intimated to the Curator and Secretary of the Society that they will probably place at the disposal of the Society for such exhibit the sum of \$2,500. The members of the Society by formal motion expressed their approval of the idea of the Society making such an exhibit, subject to proper arrangements which might be made by the Executive Committee of the Society and the Ohio Commission for the Jamestown Celebration.

Following the report of the Curator, the Treasurer, Mr. Wood, submitted the following annual report:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand February 1, 1905.....	\$1,222 29
Active Membership Dues	114 00
Life Membership Dues	50 00
Interest on Permanent Fund.....	106 75
Subscriptions	12 00
Books sold	65 07
From Treasurer of State:	
Appropriation for current expenses.....	2,588 14
Appropriation for Field Work, etc.....	2,515 91
Appropriation for Publications	2,735 52
Appropriation for Reprinting Publications.....	7,500 00
Total	<hr/> \$16,909 68

DISBURSEMENTS.

Field Work	\$980 51
Care of Fort Ancient	620 50
Care of Serpent Mound	354 20
Care of Big Bottom Park.....	109 63
Publications	2,729 87
Reprinting Publications	7,500 00
Expenses of Trustees	301 05
Salaries (3)	2,200 00
Express and Drayage	75 97
Postage	85 87
Museum and Library	852 47
Job Printing	35 25
Annual Meeting, 1905	56 00
Ohio News Clipping Bureau.....	26 80
Premium on Treasurer's Bond.....	15 00
To Permanent Fund *.....	259 00
Sundry Expenses	19 21
Balance on hand February 1, 1906.....	688 35

Total \$16,909 68

* Total amount of Permanent Fund..... \$4,459 00

E. F. WOOD, *Treasurer.*

Following the report of the Treasurer, the Secretary submitted brief reports from the Chairmen of the Committees on Fort Ancient, Serpent Mound and Big Bottom Park, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FORT ANCIENT.

The committee has made a number of trips to the Fort during the year. It can report the grounds and walls to be in fine order and improving each year. Trees have been planted in places where old ones have disappeared. A part of the Fort where the grass has given out has been under cultivation in order to get it back to a better sod. Your committee authorized the building of a large porch at the house and the erection of a woodshed. Other minor improvements have been made for the betterment of things around the Fort.

B. F. PRINCE, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIG BOTTOM PARK.

Big Bottom Park was formally received by the officers of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, on the occasion of the dedication of the monument which had been erected by Mr. Obadiah Brokaw and which together with two acres of ground surrounding the site of the pioneer blockhouse had been generously presented to the Society for care and preservation.

The preliminary negotiations between Mr. Brokaw and the Society began on August 17, 1905, when at the request of Mr. Brokaw, through Trustee Martzloff, Secretary Randall visited him at his home near Stockport. Mr. Brokaw offered to transfer to the Society the monument marking the site of the Indian massacre and the two acres surrounding it provided that the Society would obligate itself to the preservation and maintenance of the same as a free public park. These negotiations were approved and accepted by the Executive Committee of the Society on August 28, 1905, and the proper survey and deed were immediately made and the Society at once through its committee entered upon its part of the contract. The dedicatory exercises were held on Saturday, Sept. 30, in the presence of about four thousand people.

The project of the proper enclosure of the park was then entered upon and the committee was fortunate in having offered them by Mr. J. S. Roof, of Ashville, representative of the American Steel & Wire Company, through the courtesy of Mr. A. W. Sprague, sufficient wire for, and the erection of a durable fence, free of charge. The offer was promptly accepted. The Committee then secured locust posts and had them set in accordance with the direction of Mr. Roof. The end and corner posts are of extra size and have been anchored in cement. All of them have been painted white and everything is in readiness for placing the fence, which will be done without delay under the supervision of Mr. Roof.

The Committee has also planted quite a number of native rapid-growing sugars which will add materially to the appearance of the park. The ground is covered with a thick growth of alfalfa which has been already cut this season.

The Committee suggests the placing of an arched gateway at the entrance of the park with the name of the park and its ownership upon it. This would be along the public road and plainly visible to passing boats on the river.

The action of the Society in assuming the control of Big Bottom Park is highly appreciated by the people of Morgan County. They have taken great interest in the work of our Society and it has gained many friends and strong supporters in that section of the state.

C. L. MARTZLOFF, *Chairman.*

The Secretary reported that at the last annual meeting a committee consisting of Professor G. Frederick Wright, Hon. D. J. Ryan and Mr. E. O. Randall were appointed to revise the constitution of this Society and report said revision at this annual meeting. This committee, after careful consideration, begs leave to make the following report — the changes between the constitution reported and the previous one were pointed out by the Secretary as the different sections were read.

CONSTITUTION.

As Amended June 9, 1906.

ARTICLE I. — NAME AND LOCATION.

SECTION 1. This Society shall be known as The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Its office shall be located and its principal business be transacted at Columbus, Ohio.

ARTICLE II. — MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this Society shall be divided into four classes, designated as follows: Life Members, Active Members, Corresponding Members and Honorary Members. Application for membership shall be made to the Secretary of the Society and by him referred to the Executive Committee. Upon the approval of the Executive Committee and the payment of the annual fee, such applicants shall be declared members.

SECTION 2. The payment at any one time of twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) to the Society shall constitute the person so paying a life member.* Life members shall be exempt from all further dues, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of active membership.

Any person who shall make a donation to the Society, the value of which shall be determined by the trustees to be not less than twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) shall be entitled to life membership. Said life membership payments shall constitute a permanent fund to be invested at the discretion of the Executive Committee. The income only of this fund to be used by the Society as the Executive Committee may direct.

SECTION 3. Active members shall be residents of Ohio, and shall pay in advance an annual fee of three dollars. They shall be entitled to vote and hold office. They shall receive free all publications of the Society and have free access to the museum and library.

SECTION 4. Corresponding members may be residents of any locality, and shall be persons who take an interest in the Society and its objects, and are willing to aid it by representing its interests and securing donations for its museum and library. Secretaries of historical or kindred societies whose publications are furnished to this society may be constituted corresponding members.

SECTION 5. Honorary members shall be persons distinguished for scientific and literary attainment, particularly in the departments of archaeology and history.

*The Society since its organization has received over two hundred and thirty-five life members.

ARTICLE III. — GOVERNMENT.

SECTION 1. The government of this Society shall be vested in a board of twenty-one (21) trustees, fifteen (15) of whom shall be elected by ballot by the Society at its annual meetings. The other six trustees necessary to complete the number of twenty-one (21) shall be appointed by the Governor of Ohio, as provided by the legislative enactment of April 16, 1891, two to be appointed each year to serve for the period of three years, or until their successors are appointed and qualified. The fifteen (15) elected by the Society shall be divided into three classes, five only being elected each year, to serve for three years each from the time of their election, or until their successors are elected and qualified. In case a vacancy occurs among the trustees thus elected by the Society during their term of service, the remaining trustees shall fill such vacancy until the next annual meeting of the Society, when the vacancy shall be filled by the Society.

SECTION 2. The Board of Trustees shall elect a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, a Curator, who may, if so required, act as Librarian, and such other officers as the proper management of the Society may require.

SECTION 3. There shall be an Executive Committee, which shall consist of the elected officers of the Society and five other members whom the trustees shall select from their own number. The Executive Committee shall have full power in the interim to conduct and administer the affairs of the Society. Five members of said committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SECTION 4. The trustees may appoint such other committees as may from time to time be required.

SECTION 5. The trustees may fix the tenure of office and compensation of all officers and agents, and may remove the same whenever the interests of the Society demand.

SECTION 6. The trustees may adopt a code of By-Laws for the government of the Society, not inconsistent with the Articles of Incorporation and this Constitution.

ARTICLE IV. — OFFICERS.

SECTION 7. *President* — The President of the Board of Trustees shall be President of the Society. He shall preside at all meetings of the Society, shall have a casting vote, shall appoint all committees not otherwise provided for, shall sign all orders drawn on the Treasurer, and perform such other duties as usually pertain to the office.

SECTION 2. *Vice-President* — In the absence of the President, the Senior Vice-President shall perform the duties usually incumbent upon the office of President, and in the absence of both of these officers, the duties shall be performed by the Second Vice-President.

SECTION 3. *Treasurer*—The Treasurer shall receive all payments of money to the Society and receipt for the same. He shall disburse the funds of the Society only upon orders signed by the President and Secretary. He shall give bond to the Board of Trustees in such amount as they may require. He shall keep account of all receipts and disbursements, and shall render an annual statement to the Society, and statements to the trustees whenever they shall so require.

SECTION 4. *Secretary*—The Secretary shall keep the minutes and records of the Society; edit all the publications of the Society; give due notice of all meetings; furnish certificates to members; supervise all correspondence of the Society; attend all meetings of the various standing committees of the Board of Trustees, and shall perform such other duties as the trustees may direct. He shall make a written report to the Society at the annual meetings, and may perform the duties of Librarian.

SECTION 5. *Curator*—The Curator shall have charge of the museum and archaeological collections of the Society. He shall keep all articles that come under his charge in proper order, prepare and keep a catalogue or card list of the same and carefully label them. He shall have charge of the archaeological explorations of the Society throughout the state.

SECTION 6. *Librarian*—The Librarian shall have charge of the library, the care and arrangement of books, manuscripts, papers, maps, paintings, and all other property belonging to the same. He shall properly preserve, arrange and keep them in order, and shall prepare and keep a catalogue of the same. He shall keep a book in which shall be recorded all donations to the Society, of whatever nature, with the name of the donor and date of receipt by the Society; and shall also carefully label said donations with the name of this Society and the name of the donor. He shall not permit anything belonging to the Society to be removed from its rooms, except as provided for in the regulations of the library and museum. He shall report at each regular meeting the donations received since the preceding meeting, and at the annual meetings shall make a full report of the condition of the library.

ARTICLE V. — MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. The fiscal year of the Society shall end February 1, and the annual meeting shall be held at Columbus within thirty days thereafter as the Executive Committee may determine. Due notice of the meeting shall be mailed by the Secretary to all members of the Society at least ten days before such annual meeting is held.

SECTION 2. Special meetings may be held at any time at the call of the President and Secretary.

SECTION 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VI. — LIABILITIES.

SECTION 1. No debts shall be contracted by the Society, nor by any of its trustees, officers or agents, in its behalf, except by a vote of a majority of the Board of Trustees, or by direction of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII. — AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any meeting of the Society. All amendments shall be proposed in writing, and shall, if required by a majority of those present, lie over for action until the next meeting.

After considerable discussion concerning the changes proposed, the revised constitution as reported by the committee was adopted without a dissenting vote.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

The meeting proceeded with the election of Trustees. Those whose terms expire at this meeting were as follows: Messrs. Keifer, Arnett, Bareis and Sloane, and Mr. Wood, who had been, by the Executive Committee, temporarily selected to fill the vacancy caused by the decease of Mr. Rickly. After several nominations and suggestions, the Trustees elected to serve until the annual meeting of 1909 were as follows: General J. Warren Keifer, Springfield; Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Hon. Rush R. Sloane, Sandusky; Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus; and Rev. I. F. King, Columbus. The secretary reported that the Trustees appointed by the Governor whose terms expired on February 18, 1906, were Rev. N. B. C. Love, Toledo, and Colonel J. W. Harper, Cincinnati. Governor Pattison* has not appointed their successors and they are therefore still serving subject to the appointment at any time of those whom the Governor may select.

The Board of Trustees, therefore, as now constituted and for the ensuing year will be as follows:

* Governor Pattison died at his home in Milford, on Monday, June 18.

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1907.

General R. Brinkerhoff.....	Mansfield
Hon. M. D. Follett.....	Marietta
Hon. D. J. Ryan.....	Columbus
Rev. H. A. Thompson.....	Dayton
Mr. W. H. Hunter*.....	Chillicothe

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1908.

Prof. G. Frederick Wright.....	Oberlin
Col. James Kilbourne.....	Columbus
Hon. R. E. Hills.....	Delaware
Prof. C. L. Martzloff.....	New Lexington
Judge J. H. Anderson.....	Columbus

TERMS EXPIRE IN 1909.

General J. Warren Keifer.....	Springfield
Rev. I. F. King.....	Columbus
Mr. E. F. Wood.....	Columbus
Mr. G. F. Bareis.....	Canal Winchester
Judge Rush R. Sloane.....	Sandusky

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

TERMS EXPIRE AS INDICATED.

Rev. N. B. C. Love, Toledo.....	1906
Col. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati.....	1906
Hon. M. S. Greenough, Cleveland.....	1907
Prof. M. R. Andrews, Marietta.....	1907
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield.....	1907
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus.....	1908

ANNUAL MEETING OF TRUSTEES.

Immediately following the Annual Meeting of the Society came the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees, of whom there were present the following: Judge J. H. Anderson, Prof. M. R. Andrews, Mr. George F. Bareis, General R. Brinkerhoff,

* Mr. Hunter died at Chillicothe, June 20; on June 30, the Executive Committee selected Hon. J. H. Beal, Scio, to fill the vacancy until the next annual meeting of the Society.

Colonel J. W. Harper, Mr. W. H. Hunter, Rev. I. F. King, Prof. C. L. Martzloff, Prof. B. F. Prince, Mr. E. O. Randall, Rev. H. A. Thompson, Mr. E. F. Wood, and Prof. G. F. Wright.

Election of officers ensued as follows: President, General R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; First Vice President, Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Second Vice President, Prof. G. F. Wright, Oberlin; Secretary and Editor, Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus; Treasurer, Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus; Curator and Librarian, Prof. W. C. Mills. For service upon the Executive Committee in addition to the officers ex-officio, there were chosen Messrs. Hunter, King, Martzloff, Prince and Ryan, so that the Executive Committee now stands as follows: Messrs. Bareis, Brinkerhoff, Hunter,* King, Martzloff, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Wood, Wright and Mills.

It was decided to leave the determination of the compensation of the officers of the Society who receive salaries, to the Executive Committee.

The meeting of the Board of Trustees then adjourned with the understanding that the Secretary would call a meeting of the Executive Committee at his earliest convenience.

* The Executive Committee at its meeting June 30, selected Col. J. W. Harper as member of the committee in place of W. H. Hunter, deceased.



SINCLAIRE'S DEFEAT.

[This specimen of early times poetry appeared shortly after St. Clair's defeat (1791) and was printed in circular form, it is related, and was posted up in many a pioneer cabin. It reveals the sentiment of the times as well as the form of expression.]

'Twas November the fourth, in the year ninety-one,
We had a sore engagement near to Fort Jefferson;
Sainclair was our commander, which may remembered be,
For there we left nine hundred men in the West'n Ter'tory.

At Bunker's Hill and Quebec, there many a hero fell,
Likewise at Long Island (it is I the truth can tell),
But such a dreadful carnage may I never see again
As hap'ned near St. Mary's, upon the river plain.

Our army was attacked just as the day did dawn,
And soon were overpowered and driven from the lawn.
They killed Major Ouldham, Levin and Briggs likewise,
And horrid yells of sav'ges resounded through the skies.

Major Butler was wounded the very second fire;
His manly bosom swell'd with rage when forc'd to retire;
And as he lay in anguish, nor scarcely could he see,
Exclaimed, "Ye hounds of hell! Oh revenged I will be."

We had not been long broken when General Butler found
Himself so badly wounded, was forced to quit the ground;
"My God!" says he, "what shall we do? we're wounded every man;
Go charge them, valiant heroes, and beat them if you can."

He leaned his back against a tree, and there resigned his breath,
And like a valiant soldier sunk in the arms of death;
When blessed angels did await his spirit to convey,
And unto the celestial fields he quickly bent his way.

We charg'd again with courage firm, but soon again gave ground;
The war-whoop then redoubled, as did the foes around.
They killed Major Ferguson, which caused his men to cry,
"Our only safety is in flight, or fighting here to die."

"Stand to your guns," says valiant Ford; "let's die upon them here,
Before we let the sav'ges know we ever harbored fear!"
Our cannon-balls exhausted, and artill'ry-men all slain,
Obliged were our musket-men the enemy to sustain.

Yet three hours more we fought them, and then were forced to yield,
When three hundred warriors lay stretched upon the field.
Says Colonel Gibson to his men, "My boys, be not dismayed;
I'm sure that true Virginians were never yet afraid.

"Ten thousand deaths I'd rather die than they should gain the field."
With that he got a fatal shot, which caused him to yield.
Says Major Clarke, "My heroes, I can here no longer stand;
We'll strive to form in order, and retreat the best we can."

The word "Retreat" being passed around, there was a dismal cry,
Then helter-skelter through the woods like wolves and sheep they fly.
This well-appointed army, who but a day before
Defied and braved all danger, had like a cloud passed o'er.

Alas, the dying and wounded, how dreadful was the thought!
To the tomahawk and scalping-knife in mis'ry are brought.
Some had a thigh and some an arm broke on the field that day,
Who writhed in torments at the stake to close the dire affray.

To mention our brave officers, is what I wish to do;
No sons of Mars e'er fought more brave, or with more courage true.
To Captain Bradford I belonged, in his artillery,
He fell that day amongst the slain, a valiant man was he.



JONATHAN ALDER.

COL. WM. CURRY.

The tales of adventure and bloodshed related by the early pioneers of Ohio, of their dangers and hardships have been familiar to me since boyhood. Among others of whom I heard many harrowing stories related by my father and other pioneers, was of Jonathan Alder, who was at one time a resident of Union county, Ohio, and a noted pioneer and frontiersman.

Like Captain Samuel Davis, the famous Indian fighter, he was taken captive by the Indians, and the latter part of his life was spent quietly in Madison county, and his remains now rest less than a score of miles west of the city of Columbus.

"Lest we forget," it is well sometimes to recall the heroic deeds of our nearby neighbors, for to those men who came to this section of our state more than a century ago, with rifle and ax, we owe a debt we can never repay.

"Red ran the blood of foemen,
On countiess fields of woe,
From Allegheny's shimmering stream
To Maumee broad and slow
On swift Miami's green-clad shores
And by Sandusky's side
And where Scioto's hill-crowned flood,
Greets grand Ohio's tide."

WAR OF 1812.

During the war of 1812, Alder resided near Pleasant Valley now Plain City, Ohio, in the territory now within the bounds of Union county. A military company was organized at Pleasant Valley in the summer of 1812 of which Alder was elected captain and Frederick Loyd lieutenant. There were 70 men in all, and one Daniel Watkins was made colonel and commander-in-chief. They were directed to march north toward the lakes

about twenty miles beyond the settlements on Big Darby and erect a block-house for the protection of the settlers. They marched to Mill Creek about three miles north of Marysville, and after two or three days' work the block-house was completed. Mr. Alder well knew the Indian's mode of warfare and condemned this as a very unwise move in the governor to order so many men from the settlements, for he claimed the tactics of the Indian would be to attack the women and children in the settlement and avoid the fort. They remained in the block-house for a few weeks, when a false alarm was given that the Indians were approaching, and it was not possible to keep the men from returning to the settlements. Some of the stones used either for the foundation or to strengthen the walls may yet be seen on the banks of the creek.

Thomas Killgore, who was a member of this company and the last survivor, died in Union county about the year 1880, and a short time before his death gave a detailed account of this campaign.

So far as is known, this is the only fort ever erected within the borders of the county, and it was located about 32 miles northwest from Columbus.

SKETCH OF ALDER'S LIFE.

Mr. Alder was born near Philadelphia, but over the New Jersey line, September 17, 1773, and was about 40 years of age when the war of 1812 commenced. When he was about 7 years of age his parents emigrated to Virginia. About a year after this event, and after the death of his father, he was in the woods hunting for horses with a brother, and was taken prisoner by the Indians. His brother attempted to escape and was killed by the Indians and his scalp taken in the presence of Jonathan. Mr. Alder often related to the old settlers incidents of his trials and hardships during his years of captivity, in very graphic language.

The village to which Alder was taken belonged to the Mingo tribe, and was on the north side of the Mad River, we should judge somewhere within or near the limits of what is now Logan county. As he entered he was obliged to run the gauntlet,

formed by young children armed with switches. He passed through this ordeal with little or no injury, and was adopted into an Indian family. His Indian mother thoroughly washed him with soap and water with herbs in it, previous to dressing him into the Indian costume, consisting of a calico shirt, breechclout, leggings and moccasins. The family having thus converted him into an Indian, were much pleased with their new member. His Indian father was a chief of the Mingo tribe, named Succohanos; his Indian mother was named Whinechech, and their daughters respectively answered to the good old English names of Mary, Hannah and Sally. Succohanos and Whinechech were old people, and had lost a son, in whose place they had adopted Jonathan. They took pity on the little fellow and did their best to comfort him, telling him that he would be restored to his mother and brothers.

LIFE AMONG INDIANS.

When Alder had learned to speak the Indian language, he became more contented. He says: "I would have lived very happy, if I could have had health, but for three or four years I was subject to very severe attacks of fever and ague. Their diet went very hard with me for a long time. Their chief living was meat and hominy; but we rarely had bread, and very little salt, which was extremely scarce and dear, as well as milk and butter."

When he was old enough he was given an old English musket, and told that he must go out and learn to hunt. So he used to follow along the river courses, where mud turtles were plenty, and commenced his first aims upon them. He generally aimed under them as they lay basking on the rock, and when he struck the stone they flew sometimes several feet in the air, which afforded great sport for the young marksman. Occasionally he killed a turkey or a raccoon, and when he returned to the village with his game, generally received high praise for his skill. The Indians told him he would make "a great hunter one of these days."

He had a varied experience during the years he remained with the Indians, and witnessed the shedding of blood in more:

than one engagement between the whites and the savages. He also went on one expedition with others in Kentucky, to steal horses from the settlers. He remained with the Indians until after Wayne's treaty, 1795. He was urged by them to be present on the occasion and obtain a reservation of land which was given to each of the prisoners, but ignorant of the importance, he neglected and lost his land. Peace having been restored, Alder says, "I could now lie down without fear and rise up and shake hands both with the Indians and the white man."

MET LUCAS SULLIVANT.

The summer after the treaty, while living on Big Darby, Lucas Sullivant made his appearance in that region, surveying lands, and became on terms of intimacy with Alder, who related to him a history of his life, and generously gave him a piece of land on which he dwelt; but there being some little difficulties about the title, Alder did not contest and lost it.

When the settlers first made their appearance on Darby, Alder could scarcely speak a word of English. He was then about twenty-four years of age, fifteen of which was passed with the Indians.

When talking one day with John Moore, a companion of his, the latter questioned him where he was from. Alder replied that he was taken prisoner somewhere near a place called Greenbrier, Va., and that his people lived by a lead mine, to which he used frequently to go to see the hands dig ore. Alder then made up his mind that he would make every effort to find his family, and he advertised for them in various places. Some time afterward he and Moore were at Franklinton, when he was informed there was a letter for him at the post office. It was from his brother Paul, stating that one of the advertisements was put up within six miles of him, and that he got it the next day. It contained the joyful news that his mother and brothers were still alive. He had married a squaw from whom he separated after dividing his property with her. He went back to Wythe county, Va., and found his family and mother still living.

"The first words she spoke," he said, after she grasped me

in her arms, were "How you have grown," and then she told him of a dream she had.

A MOTHER'S DREAM.

Said she: "I dreamed that you had come to see me, and that you was a little, mean looking fellow, and I could not own you for my son; but now I find I was mistaken — that it is entirely the reverse, and I am proud to own you for my son." I told her I could remind her of a few circumstances that she would recollect, that took place before I was made captive. I then related various things, among which was that the negroes, on passing our house on Saturday evenings to spend Sunday with their wives, would beg of her to roast pumpkins for them against their return on Monday morning. She recollected these circumstances, and said now she had no doubt of my being her son.

We passed the balance of the day in agreeable conversation, and I related to them the history of my captivity, my fears and doubts, of my grief and misery the first year after I was taken. My brothers at this time were all married, and Mark and John moved from there. They were sent for and came to see me, but my half brother, John, had moved so far away that I never got to see him at all."

Alder is well remembered by the old citizens in Madison and Union counties.



EDITORIALANA.

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E. O. Randall

JULY, 1906.

WILLIAM HENRY HUNTER.

William H. Hunter, Trustee and member of the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, died suddenly at his residence, Chillicothe, Ohio, in the early morning of Wednesday, June 19, 1906, after an illness of only five days' duration. Mr. Hunter closed his earthly career as he had often expressed a desire to do, in the very midst of his daily activities. Never was he more energetic or enthusiastic in his life work. On the previous Wednesday, June 13, Mr. Hunter attended the commencement at Marietta College, where he received from the college authorities the honorary degree of Master of Arts, conferred upon him because of his literary attainments and numerous and valuable contributions to the History of Ohio. On the evening of the day in question, at a banquet of the alumni of the college, Mr. Hunter delivered a most eloquent and scholarly address upon the racial "Birthright of Governor Arthur St. Clair." Governor St. Clair was a favorite historical character with Mr. Hunter. To the city of Chillicothe and also to Marietta College, Mr. Hunter presented oil portraits of Governor St. Clair, excellent likenesses and admirable works of art by Charles P. Filson of Steubenville.



WM. H. HUNTER.

Mr. Hunter was a man of superior talent and unusually endowed with the indomitable perseverance of the Scotch and no minimum of the fearless pugnacity of the Irish. These mixed elements of heredity made him a courageous fighter and won for him marked success in the struggle of life.

Mr. Hunter was born at Cadiz, Harrison County, Ohio, May 26, 1852. He was the son of Joseph R. and Letitia McFadden Hunter. His grandfathers, James Hunter and John Sloan were Scotch Presbyterians in Pennsylvania and soldiers in the American Revolution; a great-grandfather (Thomas Hunter) equipped and led a company in the French-English War; his father, Joseph R. Hunter, emigrated from Pennsylvania to Cadiz in 1830 and studied law in the office with the distinguished

Edwin M. Stanton. William H. Hunter was educated in the public and private schools of Cadiz, and engaged for a time in wood carving and the production of artistic pottery, originating the ware known as "Lonhuda." Mr. Hunter's chosen vocation was journalism, and before the age of eighteen he was in charge of the editorial department of the *Cadiz Sentinel*. Mr. Hunter's tastes and pursuits from his earliest boyhood were those of an intellectual temperament. Under the tuition of his brother-in-law and other men of educational attainments, Mr. Hunter acquired a wide acquaintance with literature, science and philosophy; he was an omnivorous reader, easily absorbed information and there was apparently no field of knowledge or speculation that did not elicit his attention or become the subject of his investigation. In 1875, at the age of twenty-three, Mr. Hunter in company with his cousin, H. H. McFadden, purchased the *Steubenville Gazette*, and for twenty-five years he conducted this paper, becoming a widely-known writer on historical and economical topics, while at the same time taking the most active interest in the municipal affairs of Steubenville. He had highly developed the aesthetic sense and was an influential factor in the improvement both of the sanitary condition and the ornamentation of his home city. With the aid of other citizens he caused five thousand shade trees to be planted along the sidewalks of Steubenville, transforming the appearance of the barren thoroughfare to one of great attractiveness and beauty. In the year 1890 with his brother George F. Hunter, then the owner of the *Chillicothe News*, he purchased the *Chillicothe Advertiser*, and moved to Chillicothe to conduct the paper thus resulting from the merger.

The writer first met Mr. Hunter at Steubenville, at the time of the Jefferson Centennial. Mr. Hunter was much interested in the work of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and at the solicitation of its Secretary prepared one of the most valuable contributions ever published by the Society, that known as "The Pathfinders of Jefferson County." This monograph has become the standard authority upon the subject with which it deals and has been extensively consulted and borrowed from by various writers throughout the country. At the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Society, held at Columbus, April 26, 1901, Mr. Hunter was elected a Trustee of the Society, which position he continued to hold until his untimely death; indeed, he was re-elected to that position for the third time at the last Annual Meeting, held June 9, 1906, only ten days previous to his death. For the last four years Mr. Hunter has been a member of the Executive Committee. He was one of the leading spirits in the inception and promotion of the centennial celebration held by the Society at Chillicothe, May 20 and 21, 1903, upon which occasion he presented the city of Chillicothe with the bas relief medallion of Ohio's first Governor, Edward Tiffin. Mr. Hunter was a natural historian, he revelled in the realms of the past especially in the origin and development of nations and the characters and careers of

distinguished personages. In addition to the writings mentioned above, he wrote in 1895 for the Pioneer Society of West Florida an exhaustive pamphlet on "Scotch Achievement," which is considered an authority and which was embodied as a chapter in "The Scotch in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America," a work by the Hon. C. A. Hanna of New York. Mr. Hunter wrote many historical papers for the American Society of Jefferson County; read papers before the Scotch-Irish Society of America and before the Scotch-Irish Society of Philadelphia. He was vice-president of the American Society and was the only resident outside of Pennsylvania which the Pennsylvania Society of Scotch-Irish made a member, a distinguished honor. He was a most active member of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, at one time being vice-president of the state society, for the past three years he was state historian, and for many years, and at the time of his death a member of the board of managers. Mr. Hunter's favorite study was the pioneer period and more particularly the early annals of the Northwest Territory and of his native state, Ohio. He wrote the biography of Consul Wilshire Butterfield, the historian and one of Mr. Hunter's tutors, which sketch was printed as a preface to "George Rogers Clark's Conquest of Illinois," by Mr. Butterfield and published under the auspices of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. During the year of the Ohio Centennial Celebration (1903) Mr. Hunter wrote a series of articles for his paper entitled "Historical Notes on Ohio," with comments. They were the most informing series of articles appearing at that time relative to the early history of Ohio. Space will not permit an enumeration of even the leading historical monographs and brochures which emanated from the facile and restless pen of Mr. Hunter. His mind was a remarkable combination of activity and accuracy; he could do a tremendous amount of work in a short space of time without any sacrifice either to the truthful or the complete presentation of his subject. In politics Mr. Hunter was an Old School Democrat. This did not, however deter him from accepting the doctrines of the day, but with shams and demogogy he had no toleration whatever. He was outspoken, frank and blunt, and wrote and spoke as he thought. When in a fight, from which he never shrank, he could strike hard blows, but it was always an open antagonism. He never fired from behind a masked barricade. There was no mistaking his attitude or views. While he could be an uncompromising enemy, he never harbored any personal bitterness and his friendships were warm and firm. His home life was tender, kind and sympathetic. Mr. Hunter may not have been without his faults — few men are — but as men come and go, he was far above the average in ability, achievement and sterling qualities of enduring character. On the stage of life he was not an inconsequential actor and he left behind him permanent and influential results of a life of great industry and unswerving integrity. Mr. Hunter was married to Harriet Rosemond Brown,

who with two sons now grown to manhood, Philip C. and Wm. J., survive the decease of husband and father. His demise was universally and sincerely mourned by his fellow-citizens for he had done much for the commercial and intellectual advancement of Chillicothe, Ohio's honored first capital.

His funeral was attended by all classes of citizens and he was buried on Friday morning, June 22, in the beautiful little cemetery upon the hill where lie the remains of so many of Ohio's historic characters. Vice President George F. Bareis and Trustees James H. Anderson, D. J. Ryan, W. C. Mills and E. O. Randall represented the Society and were present to participate in the last sad rites accorded to one who had done much to promote the progress of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

DOINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

On Saturday, June 30, 1906, the Executive Committee of the Society met at the office of the Treasurer, Outlook Building. There were present Messrs. Bareis, King, Martzloff, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan and Wood. The usual routine business was transacted, the most important of which was that concerning the exhibit which the Society will arrange to make at the Jamestown Exposition, to be held at Jamestown, Virginia, in the summer of 1907. Negotiations have been in progress between the Executive Committee of the Society and the Ohio Jamestown Exposition Commission, consisting of Mr. C. Clive Handy, Wauseon; Mr. Ernest Root, Medina; Mr. John P. Given, Circleville; Mr. B. W. Campbell, Cincinnati, and Prof. Geo. W. Knight, Columbus, acting secretary. The commission, after due consideration, formally offered from the fund at its disposal the amount of \$2,500 to the Society to defray the expenses of the latter in making an exhibit of Ohio archæology and history. This proposition was formally accepted at this meeting of the Executive Committee and a standing committee for the Ohio Society on the Jamestown Exposition was selected as hereafter named.

Formal recognition was taken at this meeting of the sudden death of Trustee William H. Hunter, who died at his home at Chillicothe, June 19. An extended notice of Mr. Hunter and his services to the Society are to be found elsewhere in this Quarterly. The Executive Committee, being the controlling power of the Society in the interim, in behalf of the Trustees proceeded to the election of a trustee to serve in the vacancy above noted until the next annual meeting of the Society, according to the provisions of the constitution. There was chosen to fill the vacancy in the trusteeship Hon. James H. Beal, a resident of Scio, Harrison County. Mr. Beal will bring to the trusteeship not

only an enthusiastic interest but valuable service. He was born at New Philadelphia, Ohio, September 23, 1861, and received his early education in the public schools of that town. He is an excellent example of Buckeye boys who have "worked their passage" through education and manhood to success. While at school he labored during the vacations upon the farm and in the coal mines. He served as drug clerk for some five years in stores at Uhrichsville and Akron. He graduated at Scio College with the degree of Ph. B., and then for some two years attended the University of Michigan. His inclination was towards the field of science but circumstances led him to take up the study of law, and he entered the Cincinnati Law School, from which he was graduated with the degree of L. L. B. in 1886, but he never engaged in



J. H. BEAL.

the active practice of law for he could not abandon his first love, science, and he began his life vocation in that department. He organized the Scio College of Pharmacy and has been its dean since 1889. He acted as President of Scio College from 1902 to 1904. He became professor of Applied Pharmacy of the Pittsburgh College of Pharmacy in 1890, which position he now holds. In 1889 he received the degree of Sc. D. for post-graduate work in Mt. Union College and later was given the honorary degree of Ph. G. from the Ohio Medical University and Pharm. G. from the Western University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Beal represents that rare type of man that combines intellectuality and scholarship with peculiar adaptitude for the practical affairs of life. His efforts have not been confined to his mental attainments. He is engaged in manufacturing, banking and other lines of industrial and commercial activities. He was called by his constituents to represent his district in the General Assembly of 1892 and 1893, and there made himself prominent as the author of the Beal Local Option Law, the salient features of which have attracted wide notice and have been copied in other states. His legal knowledge and scholarly acquisitions, coupled with experience in public speaking, made him a prominent and forceful man in the assembly of which he was a member. Moreover, his frank manner and unquestioned integrity won the confidence of all his colleagues without regard to party. Mr. Beal's acquirements in the study of pharmacy were recognized by the Ohio Pharmaceutical Association, which in 1891 chose him for its president, he having been for some years one of the most active and conspicuous members of the organization, having previously held respectively the offices of second and first vice-president. He is a member of the board of trustees of the United States Pharmacopœia Convention, a trustee of the Pittsburg

College of Pharmacy and a member of the American Pharmaceutical Association.

Professor Beal is a clear and forceful writer and the author of many monographs on the scientific subjects to which he has given attention and which productions have appeared in leading scientific publications of the country. He has published notes which have become text authorities on Equation Writing in Chemical Arithmetic; Pharmaceutical Interrogations and Interrogations in Dental Metallurgy.

For many years Mr. Beal has been a Life Member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, rendering thereto much valuable service while a member of the legislature and takes especial interest in the project of securing a building for the proper housing of the Society. He has ever maintained that the Society deserves generous support at the hands of the state, regarding the work of the Society as not only important because it is collecting and preserving material, archæologic and historic, which would otherwise be irretrievably lost, but further recognizing that the Society by its publications awakens among the people of Ohio, and the young especially, a proper appreciation of the rich prehistoric and pioneer past of the Buckeye State.

As Mr. Hunter was also a member of the Executive Committee, it became necessary to select some one as his successor. Colonel John W. Harper, of the Board of Trustees and formerly a member of the Executive Committee, was chosen to fill the position.

At the annual meeting of the Society, held June 9, past, as duly recorded in the proceedings of that meeting elsewhere in this Quarterly, the Rev. Isaac F. King was elected a Trustee and at the subsequent meeting of the Trustees he was chosen a member of the Executive Committee. Rev. Isaac Fenton King was born in Muskingum County, May 8, 1834, the son of James J. and Marian L. King. The history of his early



I. F. KING.

youth is much the same as that of every boy born and raised upon an Ohio farm. His elementary education was that which the neighboring district school could supply, supplemented by future study in the Zanesville Public Schools. He was bent upon the best education to be obtained and finally graduated from the Ohio Wesleyan University in 1858, which alma mater gave him the degree of A. M. in 1861; Miami University conferred upon him in 1891 the honorary degree of D. D. Mr. King chose the ministry as his life profession and entered thereupon in 1858 in the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He served on circuits for seven years and in church stations for seventeen

years and was then promoted to presiding eldership, in which he served for fourteen years. For the past ten years he has been the endow-

ment agent for the Ohio Wesleyan University having also been a trustee of that institution for the past fifteen years. Mr. King has been an extensive traveler. Some fifteen years ago he made a prolonged journey through the principal countries of Europe and also Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and Greece. These rare opportunities of travel offered Mr. King rich material for his pen and enabled him to write very extensively for the press. Only a few months ago he returned from another extended journey in which he practically encircled the globe, visiting New Zealand, Australia, Philippine Islands, Cuba, Ceylon, India, and Egypt. Mr. King has been a devoted scholar not only in the theology and history of his own church in which he is an authority but also in general literature. He has contributed much to the publication of his denomination, not only of a polemic nature but descriptive of the countries which he has visited, their peoples, religions, etc. His denomination has honored him by electing him delegate to its law making conference and he has been the recipient of many other honors from his church in which he has taken so active a part throughout his life. For many years he has been a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, has been active in its proceedings and has contributed valuable historical material for its publication.

In previous pages of this volume notice was duly made of the death of Mr. S. S. Rickly, former Treasurer and Trustee of the Society.



E. F. WOOD.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on November 24, 1905, following the demise of Mr. Rickly, Mr. Edwin Forest Wood was selected as Trustee to fill the vacancy; made a member of the Executive Committee and also elected as Treasurer, he having been Assistant Treasurer under Mr. Rickly for the past several years. At the Annual Meeting of the Society (June 9, 1906), Mr. Wood was elected Trustee to serve until the Annual Meeting of 1909. He was also elected by the Society Treasurer for the following year. This was a proper recognition of the long and excellent services rendered by Mr. Wood both as a member and as an officer of the Society. He became identified

with the Society in 1890 and served as Assistant Treasurer, really performing the duties of Treasurer, and having practically charge of the funds and financial affairs of the Society, for the past thirteen years. Mr. Wood was born in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, October 3, 1863, and when but two years of age moved with his parents, Earl P. and Maritta J. Wood, to the little village of Jersey, Licking County, Ohio. Mr. Wood as a boy attended the district school and later the Presbyterian Academy at Central College, Franklin County. He took up his residence in Columbus in 1879 and in 1884 entered the Capital City Bank, of which

Mr. Rickly was President. He served that institution, thoroughly acquainting himself with the banking business until November 4, 1905, having been Assistant cashier for many years past. On October 21, 1905, he was elected Secretary of the Ohio State Savings and Loan Association, of which institution he had been a Director some ten or twelve years previous, assuming the duties of his new position November 14, 1905. On January 1, 1906, Mr. Wood was elected by the members of the Columbus Board of Education a member of that body from the Twelfth Ward, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of the former member from that ward. From his boyhood Mr. Wood has been an enthusiastic and untiring worker in his church (Congregational) and Sunday-school. Besides being one of the most efficient officers in managing the financial affairs of the Society, Mr. Wood has ever taken deepest interest in the work and progress of the Society.

In accordance with the action of the Executive Committee, the following Standing Committees were appointed for the ensuing year:

Big Bottom Park — Messrs. Martzloff, Prince and Bareis.

Finance — Messrs. Wood, Ryan and Bareis.

Fort Ancient — Messrs. Prince, Harper and Martzloff.

Jamestown Exposition — Messrs. Mills, Wright and Prince.

Museum and Library — Messrs. King, Wright and Mills.

Publications — Messrs. Ryan, Randall and Wood.

Serpent Mound — Messrs. Wright, Brinkerhoff and Randall.

THE COLLECTING OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

Mr. A. J. Baughman (Mansfield), Life Member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and Secretary of the Richmond County Historical Society, has given much attention to the methods of collection of historical material. What he has to say upon this subject we deem worthy of publication here:

The collection of material for historical purposes covering what in Ohio is called the pioneer period has been a difficult task. That was not an age of literature, but of work — of clearing the forest and of building homes. The pioneers made history, but they had no time to write it. A few of the first settlers may have kept chronicles and annals, but after the country was somewhat improved, the same impulse that brought them to Ohio, impelled some of them to again take their places in the line of the march of civilization to the still farther West, and while enroute their records were lost. And when the historian came to write of the early settlements of the country, the information obtained was largely of the traditional kind, and it has been difficult

often to discriminate between facts and fiction. There were state and county records, but the woof of events which the pioneers wove into the warp of time had to be sought in part outside of official records to make the web of history.

To state what I consider the best method of collecting material, I take the liberty to give my own experience, prefaced with some personal history. My grand-parents were pioneers of Richland County, Ohio. They settled there in 1808, the year the city of Mansfield was founded. When a boy I heard my parents narrate pioneer tales, as we sat winter evenings around the family hearth, in the warmth and glow of the log fire of our cabin home. Their stories interested me, and that interest grew with my years, and I endeavored to extend my information upon pioneer history as opportunities were afforded. But it takes years to get an adequate knowledge and an accurate history of any locality.

I am a newspaper man and my vocation gave me opportunities to visit every part of Richland County and adjoining territory, not only once or twice but dozens of times during a series of years in the capacity of solicitor, reporter and special writer, and upon all such occasions I made more or less effort to become familiar, not only with the people, but with the early history, the geography, the geology, the topography and the pre-historic earthworks of the county. With the information thus gained, I began the publication of historical and biographical sketches as feature articles in the Mansfield papers, and these in turn were copied by newspapers of other towns, and gave the people opportunities to make corrections and additions, and these articles also aided in creating an interest in historical matters which had never existed before, and resulted in the formation of the Richland County Historical Society. From these sketches I prepared a history of the county, which was published in the centennial year, 1900.

To the "Fourth Estate," as Edmund Burke termed the press, I give the credit of affording me the opportunities I utilized in collecting material and for its presentation to the public in a manner open to criticisms and corrections ere it was put into book form.

Therefore, I consider the press the best means by and through which historical material can be collected and presented to the public; the best experiences of former years into lessons that work for good in this commercial age of endless hurry and needless haste.

It is in historical publications and by historical associations that the lessons of pioneer life, with its joys and its sorrows, its trials, its hardships and its achievements, can be preserved and inscribed, as they should be, on the heart-tablet of every child in the land, from generation to generation.

HAYES-TILDEN CONTROVERSY.

There is a saying, "Happy is the nation that has no history." We doubt the truth of that trite-ism and would certainly take issue with its philosophy. To say a nation has no history is to brand it as having been one lacking necessity and activity. These latter elements wanting, a nation would speedily lapse into lassitude and retrogression. Certain it is that the nations that have contributed the most to the progress of civilization are the nations which have led the "strenuous life" both within themselves and with their environment. This is particularly true of our own United States. Born amid the throes of a sturdily-fought Revolution it grew to lusty manhood amid the strengthening struggles incident to untrodden territory and untried forms of government. Having won the perilous victory of independence, it next had to learn the lesson of self control. That lesson it learned in the contest of Civil War—the greatest internecine strife ever experienced by a civilized nation. The world stood aghast at the magnitude and fierceness of that war in which brother-states contended against brother-states for the dissolution of the perpetuity of the Union. The end of that bloody clash sealed forever the unity of our government and the universal liberty of its inhabitants. Scarcely had the vast armies of the North and South been dispersed to their peaceful homes when the strength of this dearly bought unity was to be tested, not upon the field of battle, but in the forum of bitter political strife. This was the unique and unparalleled controversy known as "The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876." A history of that intensely interesting event was never fully written and put in historical form until the appearance of a volume with that title, just quoted, by Paul Leland Haworth, Lecturer in History, Columbia University, a volume in convenient form of some 370 pages, published by the Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio, at \$1.50, net.

We have carefully perused the pages of this book and cannot too highly commend the thoroughness and impartiality with which Professor Haworth has performed his task, one difficult, delicate and tedious. To the handling of his subject Professor Haworth has brought the advantage of the specially trained methods of a scholar; the historical temperament and the untiring patience requisite for the acquisition and digestion of a vast amount of detail. He has consulted practically all the material extant of any value concerning his topic, and from this mass he has sifted that which was reliable and pertinent to the proper presentation of both sides of the controversy. With rare judgment he has impartially and fully presented the facts of both sides. Professor Haworth has chosen the opportune time for the preparation of such a political dispute. Up to within comparatively a few years ago it would have been difficult to have obtained an unbiased survey of the claims of either party, and a few years hence there will probably have passed from the stage the witnesses who alone could give testimony at first hand. Professor Haworth seems to have

left little or nothing to be desired in the treatment of his subject. To the presentation of his facts he gives logical organization and from the results draws a judicial and convincing conclusion. After a painstaking, minute and unprejudiced investigation, the author sums up the evidence—in his chapter on the Legal Aspects and the Equities—and elicits the verdict that the seating of Mr. Hayes was a justifiable compromise of a doubtful perversion of political rights; that the Democrats committed the first legal wrong by the shameless suppression of the elective franchise, particularly in Louisiana and Florida, so as to unlawfully give those states to Tilden. The Republicans met this initial wrong by the commission of another wrong, so claimed, namely the formal counting of the electoral votes in question for Mr. Hayes. It was a game of seizure engaged in by both parties. Had there been no theft on either side no one questions but what the Republicans would have justly won the election at the polls., therefore it is possibly a rare instance in which two wrongs made a right. But Congress with undisputed powers created the Electoral Commission, and says Mr. Haworth, "So far as the two parties as a whole are concerned, the plan adopted was favored by more Democrats than Republicans." That the final outcome was accepted with approval by the American people is evidenced by the fact that they elected the Republican Garfield as the successor of Mr. Hayes. Professor Haworth has produced a most valuable contribution to the historical and political literature of our times. Mr. Haworth writes in a most vigorous, bright and entertaining style.

THE OHIO MAGAZINE.

It is the day of magazines. The latest which has just made its bow before an omniverous reading public is the *Ohio Illustrated Magazine*, edited by the well-known writer and journalist, Webster P. Huntington and published at Columbus, Ohio, by The Ohio Magazine Publishing Company, American Savings Bank Building, subscription price \$2.00 per year. The initial number, which is dated July, gives promise of occupying a field not yet pre-empted and occupying it in a most attractive and acceptable manner. The editor of this magazine sets forth as his reason for its being: "The establishment of The Ohio Magazine proceeds from the recognition of a condition not the promulgation of a theory. It takes into account, primarily, the fact that the Buckeye state, with a population of more than 4,000,000, resources vast enough to make it a princely empire in itself, a past justly celebrated in the history of the world's most important nation and a future brilliant with the promises of inestimable achievements, has no representative in the field of periodical literature such as is now contemplated in this magazine. Theory might flatter itself that a barren waste would become

productive; but Fact, as related to this venture, may well congratulate itself that here the richest of soil only awaits cultivation. The *Ohio Magazine* will endeavor to afford the people of this state a monthly medium for their enlightenment and entertainment, with the aid of the pen, brush and camera. It will try to stand for Ohio character and represent what is best in Ohio manhood and womanhood. It will seek a special sphere in which it hopes to exercise an educational influence for the betterment of material conditions and the uplifting of moral and mental standards. It will exhibit what cause may exist that the Ohioan should be proud of his state, by dealing candidly and comprehensively with its history, progress and hope of future development. In detail these objects will be infinitely diversified, but in inspiration and purpose they will be the same."

The contents of the July copy thoroughly vindicate what is set forth by the editor in his prefatory platform. Among the well-chosen and admirably written articles are: Heroic Literature of the War of the Rebellion, by Gen. Isaac R. Sherwood; Our Schools and Our Country, by Alston Ellis; Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Ohio, by Col. William A. Taylor; Some Old Medicine, by Dr. Starling Loving; Picturesque Ohio, by Hollis Kight; a characteristic poem, The Old National Road, by James Ball Naylor, etc. Mr. Huntington promises in future numbers articles from very many of the most distinguished scholars, writers and public personages of Ohio. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Quarterly wishes its latest colleague in the field of Ohio literature long life and prosperity. It goes without saying that Mr. Huntington's magazine is executed in the highest art of the typographer; paper, illustration and every mechanical feature is delighting to the eye. The cover is an unique representation in colors of the Ohio flag, with the Ohio seal in the center. Subscription price \$2.00 per annum, single copies 20 cents.

HISTORY OF AUGLAIZE COUNTY.

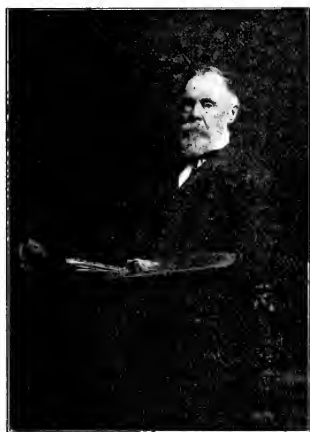
Professor C. W. Williamson of Wapakoneta has prepared and put forth a volume entitled "A History of Western Ohio and Auglaize County." The volume consists of some 860 octavo pages with numerous illustrations. It is divided into two parts, the first being purely historical and pertaining to Western Ohio. This section treats of the early French and English explorations; English Occupation of Ohio; Early Settlers; Harnar's, St. Clair's and Wayne's respective Expeditions; Territorial Events from 1791 to 1812; Harrison's Campaign; Indian Treaties, etc. It is particularly complete in its treatment of the Indian tribes and chiefs of Western Ohio. Part second deals more particularly with the history of Auglaize County, its topography, geology, organic, political, judicial and military history, with innumerable biographical sketches of pioneers

and prominent personages. Professor Williamson is one of the best known educators of the state, and in preparing this volume has brought to bear not only the historic material which he has carefully collected, but a discriminating use of the same and the employment of clear and concise descriptive powers. This volume will be useful as a handy compendium of the historic field with which it purports to deal. The mechanical features of the work are all that could be desired. It is from the press of William Linn & Sons of Columbus, Ohio.

WILLIAM THOMAS MATHEWS.

[The following sketch of William T. Mathews, one of the most distinguished painters of our state and generation, was prepared by his brother, Major Charles H. Mathews, New Philadelphia, Ohio, and is a sympathetic tribute to the memory of the notable citizen, who was known as the "Buckeye Artist."—EDITOR.]

William T. Mathews, bachelor artist, was a resident of Washington, D. C., for ten or fifteen years previous to his death,

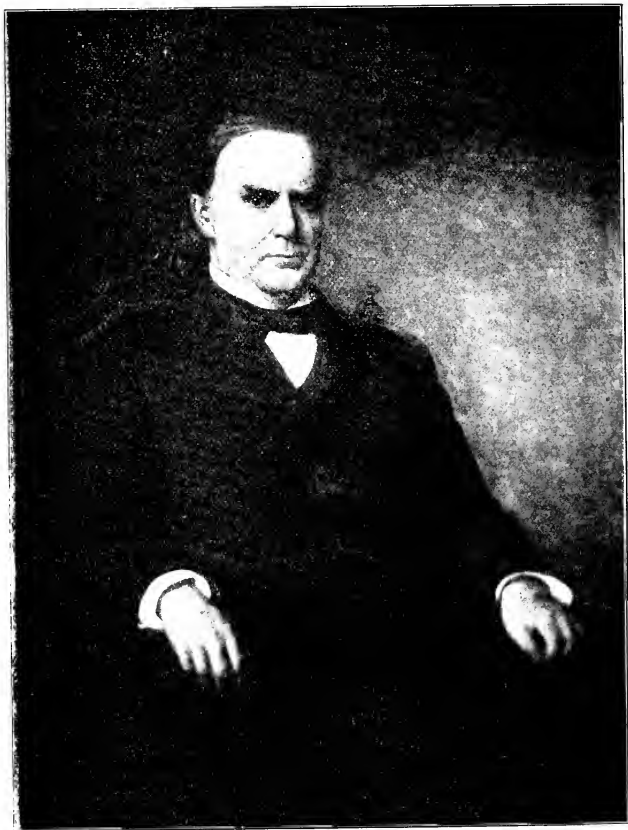


WILLIAM T. MATHEWS.

which occurred at the Emergency Hospital, January 11, 1905. He was then in his eighty-fourth year. The funeral services were held at the apartments of Mrs. Matilda Mathews, sister-in-law, Canton, Ohio, Saturday afternoon, January 14, 1905. Major C. Mathews and Mr. E. P. Mathews, brothers of the deceased, were the nearest relatives in attendance. Being a Spiritualist, the services were conducted along the line of that association by Mrs. Cora Morrell, of Grand Rapids, Mich., who was ordained by The National Spiritualist's Association at Washington,

D. C. His brother, Major C. H. Mathews, spoke briefly of the high character of the deceased. Both of the brothers were over eighty years of age, the Major being eighty-five. The remains were laid to rest in the West Lawn Cemetery, Canton:

"Soul-soothing Art! which morning, noontide, even,
Do serve with all their changeable pageantry;



WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

(From the original painting by Wm. T. Mathews.)

Thou, with ambition modest yet sublime,
Here, for the sight of mortal man, hast given
To one brief moment caught from fleeting time,
The appropriate calm of blest eternity."

It is with much trepidation that the writer essays to do simple justice to a dear junior brother, whose genial character and lovely disposition charmed all who came within the halo of his sacred and sublime influence. He was one of the most unselfish men I ever knew:

"To trace each future of departed worth,
Distinguished excellence in fitting terms
Portray, and virtue eminent proclaim;
How vain the task! Alone, then let the hand
Of gratitude inscribe this simple truth,
Beloved by all he lives, by all lamented died."

In quiet garden spots of thought throughout the world, live those who act as centers of influence. By the law of natural affinity they draw toward them the good in whatever form found, giving forth more abundantly than they receive. The fire of aspiration ever glows in these places. One such sanctuary lies under the roof of a towering building, far above the crowded streets of a busy metropolitan. Here dwells a master of art and life. Over the door is the inscription, visible to grateful patrons of the arts: "All ye who enter here, leave care behind." Within sits the master, old in years, yet young, weaving the spiritual truth and beauty of the ages into brilliant, many-hued pictures. From invisibility there come forth, beneath the stroke of his brush, visible creations of the eternal verities; embodiment of great thoughts, supreme ideals, high endeavor and triumphant achievement.

William Thomas Mathews was born in Bristol, England, May 7th, 1821. When he was about eight years old he was placed under the tuition of Professor Corff, organist of the Bristol Cathedral, under the auspices of "The Established Church of England," where he was thoroughly catechized and attended school. He had a fine soprano voice and was one of the leaders among the twelve choristers in that time-honored cathedral, which dates back nearly one thousand years. The great cathedral bell still

swings just as it swung over the heads of the monks of St. Augustine at their morning prayers six hundred years ago. The cathedral and a grand old Norman gateway leading to quiet precinct and echoing cloister, are all that now remain of the splendid Abbey of the Augustine Order, demolished at the command of Henry VIII. when the monastic houses were dissolved. All around us are the sculptured marble monuments; the floor beneath our feet contains the tombstones of dead generations. The organ music rises soft and slow:

"Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of Harmony."

It was in these sacred and solemn precincts that our subject began his useful career. In the year 1833 the Mathews family sailed for the United States. From the management of a small farm in the vicinity of Canton, Ohio, William turned to learn the process of making tinware from Henry Bockins, one of the substantial business men of Canton's early days. The time thus spent between '33 and '34 was regarded by the young man of lofty ideals as time lost; in acquiring a business which he never afterwards pursued.

In 1844 he taught a select school in Winnesburg, Holmes county, Ohio. In the winter of 1845 he went to Cincinnati; at least we find him there in February, 1846, saying: "I am going to paint a picture for a young lady here, as I must have practice. I have commenced a portrait of the lady I board with. Mr. Soule says I ought to paint altogether from life. I practice a good deal and learn something every day. I expect to commence a portrait for a Mr. Barnes, a former printer in the Gazette office. I have the use of a piano here and am improving on the guitar."

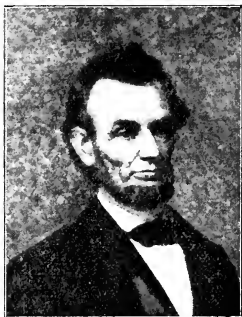
A Columbus paper, January, 1894, says: "Mr. Wm. T. Mathews, who is painting Gov. McKinley's picture, began his career as an artist in Cincinnati in 1845. He went there from Canton, Ohio. He took with him several pictures as evidence of his handiwork. His purse being light, he stopped 'Over the Rhine.' His pictures he hung on the wall to beautify his room. The German proprietor was attracted by a picture of 'Boston Harbor,' with sailing vessels. When Mr. Mathews returned

the landlord asked the price and was told twenty dollars. He said: 'You stop by me and I buy him.' The bargain was soon made, and this was the first picture Mr. Mathews ever sold. A local artist, Insko Williams, persuaded him that he was a natural artist and that it would be wrong for him to fritter away time at other business and offered him a position without pay in his studio. Mr. Mathews is now recognized as one of the leading portrait painters in the United States." In speaking in later years of this period of his life, he said: "My fortune was made. I could see six weeks of undisturbed possession of myself. I walked, or rather strode, down the street with the feeling of one who owned about everything in sight. I passed a drug store to which I had been recommended for a position with a sense of relief and I called on my friend Mathias Weaver. He introduced me to William Miller, the miniature painter, who introduced me to Charles Soule, the leading portrait painter of Cincinnati. He asked me what I was going to do in Cincinnati? I showed him some of my work. He promptly said: 'You were intended for a painter. Don't make the fatal blunder I did by going at business not suited to your talents.' These words made a deep impression on my mind. He asked me to call again, and said: 'I live out of town. I would like this studio opened by 9 o'clock a. m. If you would like to come here and open up and entertain callers, you can paint here as much as you like.' This effectually disposed of the drug business. Some kind friends had mentioned me favorably to the 'Gazette' people, and the next thing I knew the great daily had blazed forth the news that another artist had arrived and would join the group of artists who were making the Queen City famous as the Cradle of American Art."

That Professor Mathews thought and studied deeply, is evident from fugitive productions found among his papers. That he did not leave a succinct autobiography is deeply to be regretted.

"Art," says he, in a written essayette, "is the manifestation of the Ideal of a people. This signifies that the artist is supposed to take the most exalted and unbiased view of human character and to depict it with fairness, always evincing a sacred regard

for truth; not that kind of regard which induces the artist to search for every little flaw and blemish on the surface, but to present the most favorable side of the subject and impress the spectator with the breadth and grandeur of Nature. American civilization leaves on the mind a sense of rawness and restlessness; the imagination turns for relief to the future. There is no escaping the conclusion that there awaits America a material and moral destiny unparalleled in history, despite the aesthetic



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

From the full-length portrait
by Wm. T. Mathews.

barrenness of to-day. Of all the people of Italy who have made an impression on modern life, none interests us more than the Etruscans; they have left a written language which no one can interpret. Stupendous works which time fails to destroy, and a high and suggestive art whose preservation is due to the silence of the grave during thirty centuries of slumber. If America, during her opportunity of material prosperity, does not secure a high position in Art and Literature, in her decadence she too will disappear from history as did Etruria, leaving only a great shadow on the dial

plate of time."

Mr. Mathews made painting a practical study for twenty-five years. He was a member of the National Academy of Design in New York, and was thought by his brother artists to have achieved success. His productions and the verdict of the art critics attest the genuineness of his reputation. A long, intimate and friendly association with the leading painters of this country, involving of course, a mutual comparison and interchange of ideas, enabled him to speak somewhat authoritatively upon art matters. He said: "The popular idea of painters and the profession, is sometimes wide of the truth, very naturally. There is no great mystery about it; no saintly nor seraphic halo. Painting is a science as well as an art, and has certain definite

rules and principles, the same as any other science which requires careful study. A natural bent combined with great enthusiasm and industry are the requisites for success. The essential principle of painting relate to outline or modeling—you might call it drawing—and the variation of light and shade. You can have a good picture by combining these skillfully, without the use of color. On the other hand, skillful coloring may make a tolerable picture out of indifferent outlines and lights and shadows. An artist may be a great painter and lack in color. He can hardly be so and lack in the other essentials. Perfection in all is requisite in attaining the highest rank."

Near the close of his career it was the aim of Professor Mathews to paint a thoroughly American picture of a representative American. He chose William McKinley as the highest type of our nationality. When Artist Mathews was in Washington, nearly twenty years ago, President McKinley was then chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He associated with him, saw him in the halls of Congress, heard his speeches, walked with him upon the streets, and was with him in his home. As a sitter the artist says he found Mr. McKinley the same grave, dignified, courteous, gentleman that he always was. It was one of the desires of the artist that the portrait should show itself a thoroughly apparent type of the American school, and one that would commend itself to his countrymen. The portrait shows the strong, uncompromising, qualities of the man, with his conscious force disclosed in every feature. It presents the man when fewer cares had been borne and lesser battles fought. The picture, the artist hoped, was one that would be regarded as a faithful portraiture of a man known the world over. Any one with a critic's eye, who has seen the McKinley portrait by Mr. Mathews can well understand Ex-Speaker Henderson's remark to the artist: "Mr. Mathews," said Mr. Henderson, when the portrait was on exhibition at the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, "the American people should never forget the service you have rendered them in preserving the features of President William McKinley in so truthful and artistic a manner."

The portrait of President McKinley was first publicly shown in Pittsburgh a few years ago, where it attracted general at-

tention and received great commendation. The Pittsburgh daily from which we make our extract says: "Mr. Mathews has had a wide range of experience in art, and his portraiture has been largely of representative Americans. He painted two portraits of Bryant, the poet, that are highly regarded as faithful likenesses and admirable works of art. It was the friendship of this great poet and journalist, who was at that time editor of the *Evening Post*, and his kind and beautifully written criticisms, that helped along the artist, then struggling,



CHARLES SUMNER.

From the original full-length portrait by Wm. Mathews.

as all artists do, to have his pictures hung in the National Academy in New York, where, afterward, for twenty-five years, he was an exhibitor. He has painted among others, pictures of Lincoln, Daniel Webster, 'Prince John' Van Buren, full-length portraits of Lincoln and Sumner for the South Carolina legislature. Also Gov. William Allen of Ohio, Gov. Richard M. Bishop of Ohio, James A. Garfield, two of Mr. McKinley and one of Mrs. McKinley.

Mr. Mathews was regarded by all possessing powers of critical appreciation to be one of the greatest portrait artists of his day. He was not only an adept in the technique of his profession, namely that of accurate and correct drawing, of the law of perspective, and a most delightful and successful colorist, but as a portrait painter he had that further and rarer gift of delineating the subjective character of his subject upon the canvas. This tribute to his proficiency is easily sustained by all of the portraits which he painted, and they were many. While the artist was more prominent before the public in the career of Mr. Mathews, his character and qualities of mind were no less admirable. He was a most genial friend, a delightful conversationalist, enjoying ever the association of kindred spirits. He left behind him the mem-

ory of a mind equipped with rare accomplishments and of a character whose influence could not cease with his demise.

"Yes, the grave hath quenched that eye, and
Death's relentless frost,
Withered that arm: but the unfading fame
* * * the remembrance
With which the happy spirit contemplates
Its well-spent pilgrimage on earth,
Shall never pass away."

ODE FOR STANTON DAY.*

Written by Prof. George C. S. Southworth and read at the celebration at Kenyon College, 26th April, 1906, in memory of her distinguished son, Edwin McMasters Stanton.

I.

Statesman and Jurist, entered into rest
What time our grand Republic loosed her helm
After the toils of war! Among the blest
None shines more radiant in the heavenly realm
Than he, whose name our laureate honors overwhelm.
STANTON, the patient, fiery, masterful and bold,
Persistent, wielding freedom's sword of flame,
Man cast in the Arthurian, knightly mold
Whose blazon vibrates from the trump of fame
Down the resounding avenues of time the same.
As some fair star ascends the arch of night,
While round the pole the constellations wheel,
His good report mounts brighter and more bright.
Resplendent in the galaxy of commonweal:
Beside his tomb a reverent people kneel.

II.

His perfect courage in that hour awoke
When craven counsels paralyzed the arm

* See article on Edwin M. Stanton by Andrew Carnegie, page 291 supra.

Of the supreme executive. He spoke
In stern dissent, broke the deceitful calm,
Unmasked disunion, startled our millions with a shrill alarm.
When nerveless leaders flung our surging lines
Upon the southern rock, to break in crimson foam,
His eye discerned Ulysses of the wise designs,
Our later much-enduring hero, whom no dome
Of Ithaca awaited, but a fane among a grateful nation's shrines.
Impetuous of speech when vivid truth unchained the living lightning
 of his tongue
To smite the mouths of counsellors of double things,
To speed a righteous cause on morning's glittering wings,
To bar interminable parley; when the sirens sung
Of peace with shame, a union bound with chains
A soft surrender after sore and desperate campaigns.

III.

Servant of God, as one whose saintly blood flowed from a lineage of
 blameless Friends,
He urged Emancipation ere the godlike Lincoln breathed the fateful
 word,
Which disenthralled a race and cloudless splendor lends
To liberty,—by the Spirit of the Lord conferred.
Till listening angels the sweet edict heard.
At last the ermine, white and unsullied as his spotless name,
In that august tribunal where the general voice
Concordant hailed him with reverberant acclaim:
Whence envious gods caught him on high, the darling of their choice.
Rejoice ye patriots: Seraphs too rejoice!

CENTENNIAL OF MINER FAMILY.

The celebration of the Miner family, June 7, 1906, at the old homestead on Green Lawn Avenue, was an occasion well worthy of permanent note. Mrs. Mary Wharton, eighty-five years of age, youngest daughter of Isaac Miner, and the sole survivor of his children, issued an invitation to her friends and neighbors in the following form:

1806 *Spero ut fidelis.* 1906

MRS. MARY WHARTON

REQUESTS THE PLEASURE OF YOUR COMPANY AT THE CENTENNIAL OF THE
MINER FAMILY

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE THE SEVENTH, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SIX
FROM TWO UNTIL SIX,

GREENLAWN AVE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

The weather proved to be most favorable and the large number in attendance were delightfully entertained in the historic house and upon the spacious lawn. During the afternoon exercises were held appropriate to the occasion and at the conclusion refreshments were served, accompanied with pleasing music. Upon invitation of Mrs. Wharton, Mr. Henry C. Taylor, a life long friend of the family, delivered the welcoming address, as follows:



MRS. MARY WHARTON.

ing in this house eighty-three (83) years ago. Since she was a

little child this has been her home, and it is probable that no one now living in this county has lived in the same house so many years. This residence was built by her father, Isaac Miner, in the year 1823 under the supervision of Dr. Lincoln Goodale. Dr. Goodale was one of the early settlers in Franklinton, and living in this vicinity, it was more convenient for him to superintend the work than for Isaac Miner, who at that time lived in what is now Madison County. It is possible that Dr. Goodale had a larger experience in this kind of business, and in consequence could render very valuable service. However it may have been, there was good care taken, the walls are true and strong and with proper attention will be good for centuries to come.

The brick used in the construction of this house were made in Chillicothe and were hauled here in wagons. Chillicothe was at that time the most considerable town on a line running north and south through central Ohio. The line of travel in those days was from Chillicothe to Sandusky, through Circleville, Bloomfield, Columbus, Delaware, Upper Sandusky to Sandusky City.

In this home Isaac Miner raised a large family, and for many years, until the children were grown up to manhood and womanhood, and scattered in the world, this place was a center of activity and interest.

Here in his boyhood days Edwin M. Stanton was a frequent visitor, and young Stanton and John Miner were then and ever afterwards devoted friends. Together they attended Kenyon College, and Isaac Miner was always a staunch supporter of Bishop Chase, the founder of that Institution. In after years, when Mary Miner had grown to young womanhood, she was sent to Dr. Beatty's school at Steubenville, and was placed under the direct care of Edwin M. Stanton, then a resident of that place. That he performed his duty in this relationship I have no doubt, and Mrs. Wharton has told me confidentially that Stanton was a natural born tyrant. How much discipline Mrs. Wharton received while under his charge and how much experience Stanton received that was valuable to him when he became Secretary of War in Lincoln's cabinet I am not able to state.

Here also at a later date came another distinguished visitor,

whose name for many years was familiar in all the homes and settlements of our country. Isaac Miner was an ardent Whig, and on one occasion, when Henry Clay was passing through Columbus, he was here received and entertained. We can easily imagine the beauty of this location and the attractiveness of this home sixty (60) years ago. The site is upon an elevation of land about one-quarter of a mile in length from north to south and about five hundred feet in width. In the state of nature, these grounds were covered with noble forest trees, and immediately southeast of the house stood a fine sugar grove. In this fertile valley of the Scioto, this must have in the early days appeared to be an ideal site for a country home. The farm of Isaac Miner was a large one well stocked with horses, cattle and hogs. It extended long distances north and south and from the river west, including what is now Green Lawn Cemetery.

In the family of Isaac Miner, Mary was next to the youngest member and she was born January 19, 1821. As a child, little girl and young woman she had the varied experiences of pioneer life. The lessons of self denial, work and sacrifice she learned early and well. In her girlhood days she walked from home to Parker's school, which stood on the present site of the Starling Medical College on East State street in Columbus. The road at that time was east from the house to the river, north along the river bank to Sullivant's bridge, the one spanning the river at Broad street, and which was afterwards bought by the National government. We would now think that this was a long walk for a young girl, but it seemed to be all right to Mary Miner.

Fortunately our forefathers placed a high estimate on the value of education, and in its pursuit were not daunted by distances and difficulties. Among the accomplishments of the scholars of those early schools was good penmanship, and in this Mary Miner so excelled that when attending school in Philadelphia (Pa.) in 1836 she was selected to pen the address of Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, requesting on behalf of the Society of Friends the abolition of slavery. This was the first petition forwarded to Washington urging the suppression of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Mrs. Wharton has lived to see the circumstances and condi-

tions of life made easier in many ways. She has witnessed with great pleasure the development of our Country, and the growth of our State, County and City, and she rejoices in our present prosperity; but she is thankful that so much of her life was spent with those men and women, good and true, whom we all honor and revere as the pioneer settlers of Franklin County.

The trials and disappointments that have come into her life she has borne with fortitude and cheerfulness, and now in her serene age she spends some of her happiest hours in meditating upon those days when this old house was new.

A brief history of the Miner family was then read:

Thomas Miner came to this country from Somerset County, England, on the good ship *Arabella*, which landed at Salem, Massachusetts on the 14th day of June, 1630.

He was the direct descendant of one Henry Miner, to whom Edward the Third, "going to make warre against the French took a progresse through Somerset, and finding the said Henry Miner having convened his Domestical and Meniall Servants and armed them with Battle-axes, professed himself and them to his Master's Service, did therefore grant his Coat armorial."

The sterling qualities of Thomas Miner placed him in the position to at once become a prominent figure in the affairs of the Colony. He early allied himself with the men of authority and soon became recognized in their Councils for his sound judgment. He was an authority in dealing with the Indians and because of his peculiar ability to deal with them was frequently employed by Governor Winthrop to enter into an agreement with and publish court orders to the tribes.

It is said he mastered the Indian language and on occasions would accompany a missionary as interpreter to give them the gospel in their own language. We also find him leading the militia against the Narragansett Indians, and at an age when a man's qualifications as a leader of soldiers are not considered of much worth.

Between the years 1630 and 1640, Thomas Miner lived at Salem, Charlestown, and Hingham, Massachusetts, but he was not satisfied to settle down in any of those places.

Under a commission from the General Court of Massachusetts, we find him one of the founders of what he is pleased to call "Pequitt," now New London, Connecticut. Finally he determined to settle permanently at "Quiambaug" on lands he acquired partly by grant, because of valuable services with the Indians. Associating himself with others, the town of Southerton now Stonington, Connecticut was formed. There he continued to live until he died and there he lies buried. On the stone which marks his grave are the following words.

"Here lyes the body of Lieutenant Miner, aged 83, Departed 1690."

After settling at what is now Stonington, he began a Diary in 1653, which he carried on faithfully till July 26th, 1684. This diary has been handed down through successive generations remaining on the old Thomas Miner homestead property at Quiambaug in the town of Stonington, Conn., and is now in the custody of Cornelius V. Miner.

Thomas Miner married Grace Palmer and had several children. One son, Clement, married Frances Filley, a widow, and had five children. One son of these, Joseph, married Elizabeth Comstock, of Lyme, Conn., and had two children, Joseph and Elizabeth. Joseph married Grace Turner and had a family of eight children. Of these, one son, Jesse married Jane Watrous of Lyme and had twelve children. He



MINER RESIDENCE, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

lived in New London, Conn., and there on December 25th, 1750, was born Isaac Miner.

In 1775, he married Betsey Griffin. In 1780, they moved to Pittsfield, Mass., and from there to Chenango County, New York, two or three years later. Their second child, a son named Isaac was born at New London, Conn., December 18th, 1778. He married Hannah Stowell in 1802, and in 1806 removed from Chenango County, New York to Ohio, in what was then Franklin County, but is now Madison, and about nineteen miles southwest of Columbus. Later, sometime in the year 1823, he moved to Columbus, Ohio, where he died, December 27th, 1831, aged 53 years and 9 days. He had children at follows:

Griffin R. Miner, born January 12th, 1804.

Anna Maria Miner, born September 16th, 1806.

Emma Miner, born June 9th, 1808.

John L. Miner, born March 8th, 1810.

Henry Miner, born May 8th, 1812.

William L. Miner, born February 17th, 1817.

Mary Miner, born January 18th, 1821.

Richard Miner, born January 19th, 1832.

Following the reading of the family history, Hon. Thomas E. Powell was introduced to the guests and delivered the following address:

It has often been said of a well known lawyer of this State, that his idea of heaven was a place where a man could always speak and always have an audience. I hope for your sakes as well as my own, that my selection to-day has not been made on that theory. I am rather inclined to believe it came because it was supposed I could not well afford to wait for heaven, because there was a chance that I might not be on hand when the speaking there began, and so it was kindly suggested I should have my show now.

You have all wondered how the young lady now entertaining us, conceived and executed the plans of this delightful centennial anniversary. The true solution of the problem lies in the fact that a pioneer girl never grows old. Time may bring her more years, but they only to add to her rich experience. Seventy-five or eighty years may possibly change the color of her hair, but at heart, in her feelings and in her sympathies she still remains the girl of twenty.

We all know and appreciate the work of the early settlers. We have had in prose and poetry descriptions of the lives, character and habits of our pioneers. Every good citizen feels a deep sense of gratitude to those who by their toil and sacrifices prepared the way and laid the foundations upon which have been built our splendid State and its attractive capital city.

But in my opinion undue prominence has always been given to the pioneer man and too little to the pioneer woman. Here as well as everywhere else he has been doing the talking and claiming the credit while she has been doing the real work. Whenever great sacrifices were to be made or great privations endured: whenever the question came in the family as to who should give up something for the benefit of the rest, the woman always stepped to the front while the man straggled along in the rear. But when the hardships were all past and success and prosperity had come, the man insisted upon standing in the center of the stage and telling how it was done, while the woman modestly and silently stood at the side or rear.

Many an early settler would have thrown up his work, abandoned the field and gone back to a life of ease in the city if some good woman had not kept her eye on him and compelled him to stay on the reservation. She was always up in the morning before him and when the first rays of the morning sun blessed the earth she was his hope and his inspiration, in the labors and toils of the day she was his comfort and his joy, and in the evening she was his benediction. She could work all day and then make herself so attractive in the evening that many a man would walk ten or fifteen miles for the purpose of looking at and talking to her.

Our people have assembled here to-day to learn from the life of Mary Wharton something of the hardships endured by the generation which had gone before. To hear the story of the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections and the touching incidents and narratives which mingle with all she knows of this old and primitive family abode.

What marvelous changes have occurred since Mary Wharton has lived on this place. We have all read the story of Alladin and his wonderful lamp. How by the work of magic in a single night palaces arose and were filled with all the works of luxury and art. But Mary Wharton has witnessed even greater changes than these. When she first looked out from this house toward the East she saw a struggling village of a few hundred people living lives of simplicity, industry and economy, but when she looks in the same direction to-day, she sees a splendid city with its great buildings and palatial houses filled with all the objects of luxury and wealth and nearly two hundred thousand people all of whom are indebted to her and her kind for having prepared the way and made it possible for them to secure the advantages and enjoy the fortunes that surround them to-day.

It seems as if God loved the pioneer and He was always calling the best men and women into that field. He found Adam and Eve in the Garden living lives of ease and idleness and falling into temptations and sin, so He turned them out and sent them as pioneers into the wilderness of the world. He started them with the smallest wardrobe any bridal couple ever had, for the purpose of emphasizing the great truth that the less a young couple have at the beginning the more they will be sure to accumulate in the end. But in a short time by their joint labors and toils they created for themselves a larger and better garden. Then He found Abram and said unto him. "Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house unto a land which I shall show thee. And I shall make of thee a great nation and I will bless thee and make thy name great: and thou shalt be a blessing."

Under this command Abram left the land of Ur of the Chaldees and went over and settled in Canaan and made it the land of promise and prepared it for the coming of God's chosen race. Then He found

that good woman Rebekah living in far off Mesopotamia and when the messenger came she turned her back upon family and friends and without a protest started on that long and memorable journey which ended by her becoming the wife of Isaac and the mother of the children of Israel whose seed in time became as the sands of the sea in multitude. And so the list might be long continued of the good men and women who were especially selected and called into this field, and whose labors were divinely blest and whose names and works are preserved in both sacred and profane history.

So we are here to-day to manifest our affectionate veneration for another pioneer woman who during her long life shrank from no danger, shunned no hardship in order that the coming generation might have better advantages than her own, and who at the same time met all the demands that society and friends made upon her and in her own house cultivated every social and domestic virtue.

And when Mary Wharton leaves these scenes to make her last and final visit, into what a goodly company of pioneers will she be received, and in comparison with their great ages she will be the youngest and baby pioneer of them all and as such will receive favor and consideration and will receive their united blessings as here to-day she has ours.

In response to Mrs. Wharton's invitation, a number of interesting letters were received from old and intimate friends, full of reminiscence and good will, and from among them the following were read to the pleasure and interest of all present:

LETTER FROM COL. E. L. TAYLOR.

You could not possibly have thought of anything more appropriate than your proposed assembling of old friends on such an occasion as you have in view. It is a pleasing thought to all your friends that you should remember and propose to celebrate the 100th anniversary of your father's coming to this county. His arrival proved to be an important event, as by his character and worth he exercised a wide and salutary influence upon the young community into which he came, and it must be exceedingly gratifying to you that his good influence is still being widely felt after the passing of a hundred years.

It is a long time since I first visited your hospitable home, it was either in 1860 or '61. I have met many good people at your home since that time. Many of their faces I will miss if I am able to be present in response to your invitation. Among the young ladies, whom I well remember, who made your home and the neighborhood attractive were Sarah Stimmel, now Mrs. Horton and her sister Lida Stimmel now Mrs. W. T. Reese. There was in your household at that time your niece, Miss Emma Kirby, whose gracious manners and deep blue eyes I have

not forgotten. She has long since been laid to rest. Among others whom I remember to have met at your home was "Uncle Joe" Renick; Mr. and Mrs. Peter Campbell, the genial and kind-hearted Sam Stimmel and his equally genial brother John; also that sterling, unpretentious man, George W. Huffman, who if now living would be about your own age. And there was your worthy and much respected brother William, who was your nearest neighbor and whose comparatively early death was a marked loss to the community. All of these have passed away and I think that there can be but few now living who were your frequent guests and visitors now nearly a half century ago.

Since your invitation reached me my memory has reverted to the time and occurrences of the past with which you were connected. Among other things I recall an important social event which took place at John Stimmel's "new house" soon after he came to occupy it. In addition to his friends and neighbors he had invited quite a number of young people from the city and so a jolly party was made up. It is my best recollection that you were there. The young people danced in the large dining room, which had been cleared for that purpose, and old "Tall Hight" and his band furnished the music. After having tired of the ordinary dances which were fashionable at that time there was a demand for "Money Musk". Uncle Joe Renick was a very famous leader in that dance and the young people vigorously besought him to lead them in Money Musk. He had many objections but none of them were allowed to prevail and as a last resort he fell back on the fact that the boots he was wearing were not suitable for the dance. This was obviated by one of the other gentlemen present doffing his own boots and placing them upon Uncle Joe's feet. Thereupon Uncle Joe went into the dancing room, furnished out with his borrowed boots, formed the dancers into line and compelled them to dance Money Musk until they were more than fully satisfied with it. Those were merry days when old and young were able to mix together and enjoy life and social intercourse. I am afraid this spirit and social habit has largely passed away, and that nothing so desirable has been substituted therefor.

Your kind invitation has also brought to mind the "Miner Spring". I have frequently of late years, particularly when passing along Greenlawn Ave., made inquiry of persons with me as to the Miner Spring, and I have seldom found one who had any knowledge of it, or who had ever heard of it, and yet this spring was well-known throughout all this region and very much visited by the citizens of Columbus and surrounding country on account of the excellency of its water. It was a common sight to see a score or more of buggies and carriages at the spring on a summer evening the occupants having come to drink the water, and many of them to carry it away in large jugs for use at home. That famous spring is now forgotten except by a few of the older residents. It was a famous place for picnics forty or fifty years ago and the white oak grove which stood on the ridge immediately west of the spring

afforded the most desirable place for such outings. When I pass Greenlawn Ave. I am always pleased to observe that the stately white oaks under whose shade I danced with other young people are still standing, or were standing when I last observed them.

LETTER FROM LIDA ROSE M'CABE. *

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON.

MY VERY DEAR, OLD YOUNG FRIEND:

What memories the centennial of the old homestead recalls to yours devotedly! I need not tell you how I should love to be with the last of its reigning Queens on this natal June day. What pleasure to personally add my poor mite to the homage and loving good will that will be brought from far and near, to put "like proud pied April, a spirit of youth into everything" crowning that lovely green knoll so rich in memories of when 'Queen Mary' (as that royal old cavalier of cheery souvenir, General Walcutt was wont to call you), made things hum on both sides of the raging Scioto!



LIDA ROSE M'CABE.

Alas! in lieu of the seven hundred miles that have for years separated us at intervals, some seven thousand miles will lie between us on that 'day of days.'

The destiny that shapes our ends is piloting me towards "Seward's ice-box" as Alaska was dubbed in early days of Government purchase. Not to the beaten coast line of tourist travel, but to Cape Nome thence a hundred miles interior. Tent life on Ophir Creek in the heart of gold sluicing is among the experiences promised, and of which I hope to tell you in some future heart to heart talk.

But from that rude, bleak world, your thoughtful, loving summons to the old homestead celebration recalls to me that long, long ago when first I climbed the hill to find royal welcome at the gate swung open wide by sunny, faithful "Hat."

Don't you remember, I was but "A Little Maid from School"—a heap more insipid and unsophisticated than the Gilbert-Sullivan bunch!

How I bristled with ambition—dreams alas of which there is naught to-day but shadows! I was chasing data for a letter to the Cincinnati Commercial on old Columbus—Columbus the cradle of men and women of national renown.

* Miss Lida Rose McCabe, Author of "Don't you Remember," "American Girl at College," which was translated into several foreign languages, "The Occupations and Compensations of Women," and "What Women Can Earn."

"Go to Mary Wharton," said the venerable Joseph Sullivant, rich in wisdom and years and honors. Mary Wharton has lived more lives than half the population. She grew up with the town. She is a walking store house of information. She has forgot more than half these new women ever knew."

"And where does she live?" I ventured to ask. "Across the river on Green Lawn Avenue which she gave to the city. Green Lawn Cemetery was once a part of her father's farm. She lives in the old Miner homestead which her father built, and where she was born."

Then in his graphic, interesting way, he told me stories of the early days when the Miner's broad acres of waving corn flanked both sides of the Scioto for miles and miles, and Mary Miner was the beauty, wit and belle of old Franklinton and new Columbus.

The only real world to me then was the world of dreams.

I was so excited at prospect of meeting a real live personage out of what seemed to my girlish fancy, the age of chivalry, romance, that I could not sleep the night preceding the day set for my visit to the old homestead, when I should behold in the flesh this wonderful Mary Wharton for whose smile sued Edward Stanton, Secretary of War in Lincoln's Cabinet, John Breslin, Treasurer of State of Ohio, and a kindred galaxy of old beaux!

That was the first of how many subsequent pilgrimages? They must have outnumbered the perennial bloomers in the old garden—the grapes clustering round the double decked porches.

How many autumn and winter hours we toasted our Trilbys at the crackling hearth while you conjured memories of "far off happier days! not a little of which is incorporated in "Don't You Remember?"

Again and again we went over the old post road in stage coach to and from the Young Ladies' Academy in Philadelphia or danced at the inaugural ball at the opening of the State House.

Indeed so vital to me grew the life, rather lives, you have lived, that my hat took the tilt of an 1830 Godey, while my vocabulary was that of the Loco focos.

Your life has always been one of encouragement and good cheer. In the obstacles you have met and overcome in your long, long life of usefulness you have been an unfailing source of inspiration in times and places of which you little suspected.

Well, here's to you and yours, from across the Continent and the shores of Bering Sea!

May you live to celebrate your own Centennial under the century roof tree! May I live to tell the story is my loving wish and devout prayer.

The intellectual program of the day was most fittingly closed by the presentation of a delightful bit of poetry composed in memory of the event by Miss Rebekah Sullivant:*



REBEKAH SULLIVANT.

This wine pray take
For friendship's sake.
'Tis said to make
Old mem'ries start.
Though thy keen wit
Hath not a bit
Of need of it
To make it dart.

But then perchance,
It may enhance
The merry dance
Of thy blue eyes.
From earliest days
We've heard thy praise,
And now we raise
Our strain likewise.

From many lips
Of pranks and quips
Of winks and tips
We've had the tale.
Come, drink our toast,
Let not the ghost
Of sadness boast
Its presence pale.

To every part
Of thy dear heart,
May it impart
Affection's glow.
Through coming years
May smiles, sans tears,
And hopes, sans fears,
Thy path bestrow.

The early history of Franklin County is enriched and preserved by celebrations of this character, and it is commendable in those descendants of the pioneers, who have the opportunity to thus honor their ancestors, and leave a public record for posterity.

In the natural and inevitable changes and vicissitudes of life, the continuance of a family for one hundred years in one locality will not become a common event, and when such a permanence of residence occurs it merits recognition and observance.

* Miss Rebekah Sullivant is the daughter of Joseph Sullivant, and granddaughter of Lucas Sullivant, founder of Franklinton in the year 1797.

TECUMSEH, THE SHAWNEE CHIEF.

E. O. RANDALL.

Among the savage races of history, no one is more extraordinary, unique or fascinating in character and custom, in action and achievement than the aborigine who roamed the forests of North America before and at the arrival of the European discoverers and settlers. Then roved the Indian

As free as nature first made man
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.

In these people, so peculiar and picturesque, were singularly mingled the elements of the human and the brute, the crudity



TECUMSEH.

and barbarity of the primeval creature; the majesty, nobility and lofty sentiment of the enlightened man. These primitive people had their leaders, their sagacious sachems, their chosen chiefs; their mighty men in war, politics and religion, their patriots and martyrs and they may boast of heroes that might excite the envy of any age or nation. Whence and when came these children of the forest to the valleys, plains and uplands of America it is not given to the historian to recount, hardly even to the speculator to guess. The definite knowledge of

the Red race dates back scarcely beyond his discovery by the famous Genoese sailor who mistook him to be the inhabitant of the distant India of which he was in search, and therefore called him the "Indian." Four centuries of study and research leave the origin of the Indian as great a mystery as when first encoun-

tered by his European enemy. Volumes have been written upon this subject in vain. Unlike the ancient Greeks and Romans and the earlier Egyptians, they left no monuments of marble, no brazen tablets, no tale-telling temples, no records of parchment; their only legacy to their civilized successors are the countless and conflicting traditions that grow more and more vague as the vista lengthens into the past.

Should you ask me, whence these stories?
Whence the legends and traditions,
With odors of the forest,
And the dew and damp of meadows,
With the curling smoke of wigwams,
With the rushing of great rivers,
With their frequent repetitions

* * *

I should answer, I should tell you,
I repeat them as I heard them.

THE OHIO INDIANS.

It is not the purpose of this sketch to treat of the origin and classification of the American Indian; the subject is broached only to give fitting historic perspective to the hero of our story. During the historic period covered by our recital, the number of distinct tribes inhabiting North America, east of the Mississippi, could have been no less than forty. One of the principal stock families of these people was known as the Algonquin, which was estimated to have constituted half of the aboriginal population at the time of the foreign settlements of this country and to have numbered not less than one hundred thousand. The numerous tribes of the Algonquin family were scattered from the Atlantic to the great plains beyond the "Father of Waters" and from Hudson's Bay to Pamlico Sound. This vast division was interrupted by the "terrible Iroquois" group, a separate stock gathered mainly about the shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. The Iroquois were "the Romans of the New World," and comprised the confederated "five nations"—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, to which was added later (1713) the sixth nation, the Tuscarawas. The

center of the Iroquois confederacy was about the beautiful inland lakes of New York. Of the Iroquois stock, but not of the confederacy, was the Neuter nation on the Niagara River, the Hurons on the north shore of Lake Erie and the Eries or the ¹Cat Nation on the south shore of the same waters. The implacable and irresistible Iroquois confederacy, early in the seventeenth century, subjugated the Neuter nation; destroyed the Hurons, dispersing their survivors to distant dwellings in the west and south; and annihilated the Eries or Cat Nation so completely "that inquiring historians have earnestly sought them in other tribes and under other names in vain."² As early as 1650 the Iroquois pre-empted by conquest and more or less occupied the northern portion of Ohio. From this time for a century succeeding, the movements of the Redmen in the Ohio country, that is within the territory now comprising Ohio, are more or less wrapped in obscurity.

There is every reason to believe that it was the ambition and effort "of the five nations to subdue, disperse or assimilate all the tribes of the Ohio Valley."* But they seemed to have been successful only along the lake shore. In the hundred years preceding 1750, it is certain that many Indian tribes were gravitating towards the navigable rivers, rich valleys and fertile fields of Ohio. That was the most accessible and advantageous territory between the Great Lakes and the "beautiful river." There were easy portages connecting the sources of the rivers emptying into the Erie and those debouching into the Ohio; short transfers from the Cuyahoga to the Tuscarawas; the Sandusky to the Scioto; the Maumee to the Miami or to the Wabash. Thus the canoes of traffic and travel from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi would traverse the natural water channels of the Ohio country. All roads led to Rome. All rivers led to and from Ohio. The cunning Redman selected in peace and war these avenues of least resistance. Hence the Ohio country was a chosen center for the western tribes and in the early half of the

¹ Called by the French "*Nation du chat*" by reason of their cats, a sort of small wolf or leopard, from skins of which robes were made.

² Cyrus Thomas.

* Dodge, "Indians in the Ohio Valley."

eighteenth century the tide of permanent settlement was Ohio-ward. The Miamis, chief occupants of Indiana and portions of Illinois, spread into the valleys of the Maumee and the Miamis. They were divided into three tribes: the Twigtwees, or Miamis, the Piankeshawes and the Weas. Their limits were well defined and doubtless correctly described by Little Turtle: "My father kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head-waters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago, over Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestor's houses are everywhere to be seen." The Miamis, who belonged to the Algonquin family, were a powerful nation and were undoubtedly among the earliest immigrants into Ohio. In their prime they could command two thousand warriors, and it is claimed were the forces that met and repelled the inundating waves of the Iroquois. The Wyandots were a remnant portion of the dispersed Hurons and were found mainly in the northern and central portions of the Ohio country, on the rivers running into the lake, especially the Sandusky. They were noted for their peaceful disposition and friendliness to the whites. Tarhe, the Crane, their wisest and mightiest chief, was one of the noblest characters that adorn the annals of the Ohio Indians. The Delawares were originally located on the river that bore their name, whence they pushed west into the Ohio, occupying the valley of the Muskingum as far east as the Scioto. They ranked among the most historic and dominant of aboriginal tribes and were called the Lenni-Lenapes, or "Men." They professed to be the progenitors of the Algonquin family and always took precedence in Indian councils and were styled "Grandfathers." They addressed in turn all other tribes as "Grandchildren." They were conquered by the relentless Iroquois, who for many years held them in vassalage and compelled their warriors to "wear petticoats," that is, to carry the burdens like women. There were minor groups, at various times in this territory, representing other tribes, not pertinent to our theme, notably the Ottawas, who were immortalized by the great Pontiac, members of which tribe were found on the rivers emptying into

the western and southern shores of Lake Erie. Their settlements were neither numerous nor influential. The Mingos were a branch of the Iroquois, probably the Cayugas, and inhabited the extreme eastern portion of Ohio. Their chief, Logan, was the author of the famous oration so well known to every school-boy. It must be kept in mind that the settlements of these various tribes, which came into the Ohio country, were not permanent, but were more or less shifting as tribal wars, white immigration and changing conditions required. The Indian above all else is migratory, and if he did not descend from the lost tribes of Israel, as many ethnologists claim, he certainly had the characteristics of the "wandering Jew." This was especially true of the tribe we now consider —

THE SHAWNEES.

Restless and fearless, wary, warlike and nomadic, they were the vagrants of the trackless forest, the aboriginal Arabs, ever seeking new fields for conquest and opportunity. "At the period when western Virginia began to see the light of dawning civilization, they (Shawnees) were the possessors of that wilderness garden, the Scioto Valley, occupying the territory as far west as the Little Miami and head-rivers, having been invited thither by the Wyandots, at the instigation of the French. Wanderers as are all savages, this tribe, of all their family or race, bears off the palm for restlessness as well as undying hostility to the whites. From the waters of the northern lakes to the sandy beach washed by the temperate tides of the Mexican Gulf — from the Valley of the Susquehanna to the gloomy cotton-wood forests of the Mississippi — in forests grand and gloomy with the stately growth of ages — in the prairie, blossoming with beauty, and fragrant with the breath of a thousand sweets — by mountain torrents, or shaded springs, or widespread plains — the Shawnee sought the turkey, the deer, and the bison; and, almost from the landing of the whites at Jamestown, his favorite game was the cunning and avaricious pale-face."³

³ Dodge "Indians in the Ohio Valley."

The Shawnee⁴ realized and felt his prowess; proud to a superlative degree, haughty and sagacious, he regarded himself as superior to his fellow-stock in all the natural and acquired qualities of the Indian. The Shawnees boasted in a tradition "that the Master of Life, the Creator himself, the originator of all peoples, was an Indian. He made the Shawnees before any other human race. They, the Shawnees, sprang from his brain. He gave them all the knowledge he himself possessed and placed them upon the great island (America) and all the other red people descended from the Shawnees. After the Creator had made the Shawnees, he made the French and English out of his breast, the Dutch out of his feet, and the 'Long Knives' (Americans) out of his hands." All these inferior races of men he made and placed beyond the "Stinking Lake;" that is, the Atlantic ocean. Parkman says of this tribe: "Their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances, perplex the antiquary and defy research." They were doubtless among the tribes met by Captain John Smith and his colony on the banks of the James. One of the first definite mentions of them is by De Laet in 1632, who places them at that date on the Delaware. We catch many glimpses of them in the recorded observations of the early French voyagers, one of whom was Nicolas Perrot, who sojourned many years among the Indians of the northwest and relates that while in the Illinois country (1685) he met a band of Chaouanons (Shawnees) who had immigrated thither from the Valley of the Cumberland. Marquette and La Salle speak of the Chaouanons coming under their notice in the far northwest. *Jesuit Relations* make frequent mention of the existence of this tribe in separate parts of the country previous to 1700. They were found on the Delaware, the Cumberland, Tennessee, Illinois, and Mobile rivers; they were located in scattered spots from the northwest to the southeast, showing their roving and venturesome proclivities. There is a probable tradition that they were in Ohio and on the shore of Lake Erie before 1670 and about the latter date succumbed

⁴ They were called *Satanas* by the Iroquois; *Chaouanons* by the French; *Shawanees*, *Shawanos*, *Shawnees* and similarly spelled names by the English. We employ the simplest form *Shawnee*.

to the invincible Iroquois and later recoiled to their chief centers south of the Ohio.⁵ The Shawnees were a party to the famous Penn treaty held under the great elm in 1682, and for many years thereafter were the custodians of a parchment copy of that treaty, thus evidencing their prominence in that event; the "only treaty," says Voltaire, "never ratified by an oath and never broken," for "not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian," is the testimony of Bancroft. A sifting of the varied statements, more or less reliable, leads to the conclusion that, at the beginning of historic times in America, the Shawnees, a populous and aggressive tribe, erratic and pugnacious, were chiefly located in the valleys of the Tennessee and the Cumberland, whence they migrated in all directions. They took permanent residence in Ohio, first settling along the Scioto, and later in the Miami Valley, in the early part of the eighteenth century. The Ohio Shawnees, it is generally claimed, were energetic migrants from the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida, having been expelled from the sunny South by the Seminoles, Cherokees and other southern tribes to whom the querulous and imperious disposition of the Shawnees had become unbearable. This migration, according to some authorities, was under the guidance of the Shawnee chief Black Hoof.⁶

Christopher Gist in his journey (1750) through this country, in behalf of the first Ohio Company, found villages of the Shawnees on the Scioto, one at the mouth containing 140 houses and 300 men. Bouquet, in the report of his expedition (1764) against the Ohio Indians, says the Shawnee on the Scioto could muster 500 warriors. Certain it is that the Shawnees were an influential and well established people in central and western Ohio previous to the French and Indian War. Their arrogant and autocratic disposition, coupled with untempered ferocity, made the Shawnees the most formidable and most feared of all the savage tribes with which the Western settlers had to contend.

⁵ Parkman and Cyrus Thomas.

⁶ Black Hoof was born in Florida about 1740. Shawnees were doubtless in Ohio before his arrival.

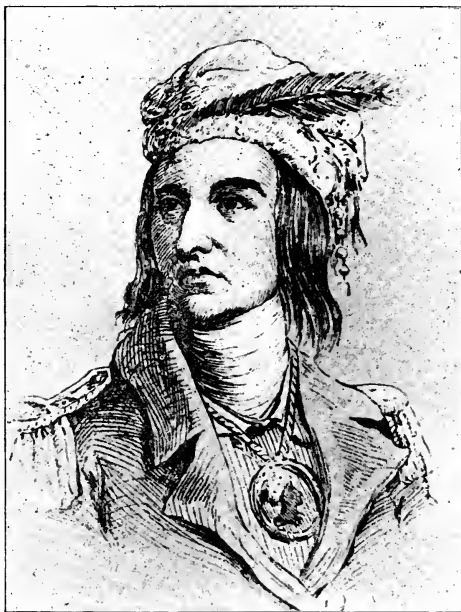
TECUMSEH A SHAWNEE.

Tecumseh was the typical child of this tribe; he was the embodiment and the acme of the Shawnee daring, arrogance, restless activity, resourceful cunning, innate and intense hostility to the whites. Measured by his environment and opportunity there is no more remarkable and striking genius than Tecumseh; endowed with the fortitude, endurance and energy in common with his people, he added to those qualities, superior wisdom, lofty sentiments, a prescience and poetry of soul, marvelous aptitude in diplomacy and in dealing with men both savage and civilized, rare gifts of leadership, matchless oratory, magnetism of manner, boundless ambition, unswerving loyalty and devotion to his race, a keen realization of their capabilities, their limitations, their aspirations, with the overshadowing intuition of their inevitable annihilation. He studied the past, he comprehended the present, he foresaw the future. He was the incomparable patriot and hero of his people. He perished a martyr in a most dramatic and desperate struggle to redress the wrongs of his race and delay, if he could not prevent, the final overthrow and obliteration of the American aborigine. The Shawnees were originally divided into twelve tribes or bands⁷ each of which was subdivided into families, known as the eagle, the turtle, the panther, etc., animals constituting their totems or religious emblems. Of the twelve sub-tribes of the Shawnee but four remained in existence at the time of our history, the others having become extinct; these four were the Mequachake, the Chilli-cothe, the Kiscapocoke, and the Piqua. In all these tribes except the Mequachake, the chiefs won their office by merit, but in the last named the office was hereditary. Tecumseh was born of the Kiscapocoke clan, of which his father Puckeshinwau or Puckishenoah was the chief. His mother was Methoataska, meaning a "turtle laying eggs in the sand." It is generally claimed that she was a member of the Creek tribe, though the interpretation of her name would indicate that she belonged to the Shawnee; she became the wife of Puckeshinwau, either before their de-

⁷ Benjamin Drake.

parture from the south, or during the Shawnee migration to the Ohio country.

One of the early settlements of the Shawnee in the Miami valley was on the Mad river, six miles southwest of the present city of Springfield. The place was called Piqua, in Indian par-



TECUMSEH.

lance denoting a "village that arises from its ashes." Piqua was perhaps the most populous center of the Shawnee population and was the seat of their national councils.⁸ It was picturesquely and strategically situated, as a visit to its location will reveal. The

⁸ John Johnston, U. S. Indian agent.

situation is upon an elevated plain on the north banks of the Mad river which here gracefully curves and winds its course south-westerly till it unites with the Great Miami near Dayton. This old Shawnee town of Piqua like a narrow band extended some three miles along the ridge of the upland and down into the plain below. It contained in its limits a sort of citadel or stockade in the shape of a large rude log hut surrounded by pickets. The view from the higher portions of Piqua, in its pristine primitiveness, must have been of unusual beauty; in front and below, stretching away to the west and south, was the spacious and fertile valley, whose green center was cut by the gentle flowing stream; the eastern horizon was fringed by a range of low rising hills; in the immediate background of the town were the broad areas of cornfields, which in harvest season gave to the wigwams and huts a golden setting, beyond which lay an expanse of lofty forest almost impenetrable in its density.

Such was the scene of Tecumseh's birthplace⁹ when in the spring of 1768 his eyes first opened to the light of heaven. And here he spent his childhood days until the summer of 1780, when the village of his nativity and the loved home of his youth was burned and utterly destroyed by the Kentucky frontiersmen in the expedition of George Rogers Clark against the Shawnees. Piqua was never re-built, thereby belying the prophecy of its name. Tecumseh was the fourth child; he had one sister, Tecumapease, for whom he ever displayed great regard and tenderness and by whom in turn he was affectionately considered and admired. He had five brothers, Cheeseekau, the eldest, who filled the part of a father to Tecumseh and was most watchful of his education. Cheeseekau died in battle in an expedition to the south; Sauwaseekau, a warrior of distinction, killed in the battle of Fallen Timber, fighting by the side of Tecumseh; Nehaseemo, third brother of Tecumseh, seems to have left no record of his deeds. The two remaining brothers and youngest children of the family were Kumskaukau and Laulewasikau, generally stated to be twins. The latter became the famous Prophet, whose notoriety in Indian history is second

⁹ For authority on data and place of birth see Addenda at close of this article.

only to the fame of Tecumseh. The boy Tecumseh, whose name in the native language signified a "shooting star" or meteor, was early dedicated to a distinguished career.

In 1774 hostilities broke out on the Ohio frontier between the Indians of the Northwest territory and the frontiersmen in Virginia. The English government had reserved this territory, after the French and Indian War, for the exclusive occupation of the Indians. The latter resented any encroachments by the white colonists. The Virginians claimed part of this territory by its charter right. The Earl of Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia, raised an army for the purpose of subduing the Indians. This army was organized in two divisions. Lord Dunmore commanded one division, of some fifteen hundred men, and proceeded from Wheeling down the Ohio to the Hocking and thence northward to the plains on the Scioto. The other division was under the command of Gen. Andrew Lewis. It mustered in the interior of Virginia and advanced along the Kanawah to its mouth on the Ohio. There on October 10th, 1774; these Virginia backwoodsmen, some eleven hundred in number, unexpectedly met the combined Indian forces from Ohio under the famous Shawnee chief and king of the confederacy, Cornstalk. The Indian command was about equal in number to the army of Lewis, and consisted of the chosen young braves of the Shawnee, Mingo, Delaware, Wyandot, Cayuga, and minor tribes. Many famous chiefs were aides to Cornstalk, viz: Logan, Red Hawk, Red Eagle, Blue Jacket, and Puchishenoah, the Shawnee chief and father of Tecumseh. It was a most bitterly contested combat. "Such a battle with the Indians, it is imagined was never heard of before," says the writer of a letter in the government reports:

A thousand warriors, strong and brave —
Of many tribes the chosen pride —
A thousand fearless foes defied,
From breaking morn till gathering night,
An Autumn day, was urged the fight:
The bloody field at set of sun,
Virginia's deadly rifles won.

It is poetically related that on this field of battle, really the

initial battle of the American revolution,¹⁰ Puchishenoah upon receiving his mortal wound addressed his eldest son Cheeseekau, who was fighting by the side of his chief and sire, and committed to his keeping the promising young brother Tecumseh then but six years old. Cheeseekau was admonished to rear his youthful ward to nobility of character and deeds of bravery. That the fraternal guardian faithfully executed his sacred trust the subsequent career of his pupil gave ample testimony. Certain it is that Cheeseekau carefully trained the apt brother to expertness in the chase, magnanimity toward friend and foe, wisdom and valor in war, and fortitude in suffering and defeat. The youthful Tecumseh developed an unusual passion for warfare. It was the field of vent for his tireless energy and daring courage. His boy pastime, like that of Washington and Napoleon, said his companion Ruddell, was the sham battle field. He was the natural and favorite leader of his youthful associates in all their sports, dividing them into contending parties, one of which he would lead for the purpose of engaging in a mimic fight, in which he would outdo his play-fellows by his activity, agility, strength and skill. His dexterity in the use of the bow and arrow exceeded that of all the other Indian boys of his tribe, by whom nevertheless he was loved and respected and over whom he ever exercised great influence. The little Tecumseh was scarcely past the papoose period when the American revolution began. Its rumblings on the Atlantic coast echoed across the mountains of Pennsylvania and Virginia and reverberated in the Ohio valley. The quick and keen ear of the Indian caught the sound, and apprehended its significance. In the war between Great Britain and France (1756-63) both sides had sought the alliance and assistance of the Indians. The Ohio Shawnees with other tribes cast their lot with the persuasive Frenchman. In this new international contest between the Briton and the American, England assiduously strove to attach the Indians to her cause against the colonist. The argument was plausible with the British, for it was the American colonist

¹⁰ See account of Dunmore War by the writer in vol. XI, p. 166, Publications of Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

that was crowding upon the hunting ground of the aborigine. Tecumseh, with a mental foresight and acuteness of intuition beyond his people, almost prematurely realized that in these conflicts between the white nations his red race would slowly be ground as the corn beneath the upper and nether stone. He saw that the European civilization was entering in the north from beyond the Great Lakes; that to a more alarming extent the New Englander was approaching in a steady and widening column, like the irresistible avalanche, across the mountains from the east, pushing his frontier line toward the setting sun.

HOME OF TECUMSEH DESTROYED.

Tecumseh was but twelve when occurred the attack on the capital city of his people, Piqua, by the army of Clark¹¹, and he witnessed the destruction of his own home and devastation of his pretty city and the ripening crops, a havoc brought to his people by the invading forces of the paleface. His intense Indian nature was aroused. The bitterest and most irradicable hatred of the white man took possession of his whole being. As Hannibal swore eternal enmity to the Romans, so Tecumseh amid the ashes of his home, vowed implacable vengeance upon the colonists. In the graphic poem on Tecumseh by George H. Colton, the son is represented as visiting the grave of his chieftain father Puckishanoah and there appealing to the spirit of his sire to harden the heart of his son against the whites.

Tecumseh stood by his father's grave.
What ere they were, deep musings gave
To his stern face a saddened look;
And oft his bosom heaved, as shook
By some strong grief; till, calmer wrought,
His very life seemed bound in thought,
As he were sculptured thus, with mind
To one eternal woe resigned;
He knelt besides the moldering earth,
From which had sprung his living birth;
"O spirit of my sire! if e'er,
Leaving thy blissful dwelling place,

¹¹ Expedition of George Rogers Clark in Summer of 1780.

Leaving the dance and bounding chase,
Thy once-loved form thou comest near, —
Oh! now be hope and counsel one,
Thou spirit for thy father's son!
How wise, how brave how good thou wert!
Be such my tongue, my hand, my heart,
That I by speech and deeds may be
Their vengeance, fame and destiny."

AFTERMATH OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown. The cause of the colonists had triumphed and peace was restored in New England. But not so in the western country. In the Ohio valley the contest was still continued. The British western stations were not abandoned nor were the Britain's allies, the Indians, subdued. Detroit still remained the British western headquarters, and the purveying depot of supplies for the hostile and unyielding Redmen. The British, from their post at Detroit, strained every nerve to prolong the warfare in the Ohio country and entice into the war the entire Indian people. The indomitable Briton hoped the northwest might yet be saved to British domain. It was estimated that some twelve thousand savages, meaning twenty-five hundred warriors, were immediately tributary to Detroit. They must be incited to further action.

The year 1782 was the year of blood and flame for the Ohio country. In March of this memorable year occurred the horrible massacre of the hundred disarmed, peaceful and guiltless Delaware Indians at Gnaddenhutten, at the hands of the band of Virginians and Pennsylvanians under Colonel David Williamson. It was followed in May by the expedition of Colonel William Crawford, at the head of some five hundred American volunteers, who proceeded from the Mingo Bottom to the Sandusky Plains, where they were defeated by the British and Indians under Captain William Caldwell. The expedition ended in that awful holocaust, the burning at the stake of Captain Crawford by the Indians. In this battle of the American revolution the Shawnees took conspicuous part as aides to the British. The victory of the British and Indian allies was followed in the month of August

by the expedition of Captain William Caldwell across Ohio, down the Miami valleys, over the Ohio river and into the Kentucky country as far as Blue Licks on the Licking (Ky.) river. The Kentucky backwoodsmen, led by Daniel Boone and other veteran Indian fighters, rushed to the rescue. It was a fierce and merciless onslaught. The Kentuckians were overpowered and routed. Seventy of their number were killed outright and many captured and horribly tortured by the infuriated Indians. The best and bravest blood of Kentucky was shed like water. The victorious British and Indians, glutted with vengeance, re-crossed the Ohio, the Canadian rangers returning to Detroit and the Indians dispersing to their Miami homes. That was the last and most successful British and Indian invasion of Kentucky. The western settlers were panic stricken, and cried aloud for aid from Virginia and Pennsylvania. Again George Rogers Clark emerged from his pioneer home and hurried runners over the country summoning the brave and undaunted backwoodsmen for another Ohio raid. In November (1782) the forest freemen poured forth from the hills and dales south of the Ohio and gathered at the mouth of the Licking. At the head of a thousand and fifty mounted riflemen Clark crossed the Ohio and struck off northward through the forest to the Miami towns. The Indians were surprised and fled, their towns and crops were destroyed. The Detroit authorities tried to rally the Indians for defence, but to no avail. Captain Benj. Logan, in command of one of Clark's divisions, pushed on to the head of the Miami and burned the post and stores of the British traders. It was a sudden and successful expedition. It lasted but a short time, but it struck dismay to the British at Detroit and the Indians in Ohio. In the campaign of Caldwell to the Blue Licks, the Shawnees comprised the main portion of the Indian contingent, and it is almost certain that Tecumseh was with the warriors of his tribe and took part in the attack on the Kentucky settlements. He must also have participated in the unsuccessful Shawnee defence of the Miami towns in the retaliatory invasion of Clark.

In such a school of ceaseless battle and continued bloodshed Tecumseh was educated in the art of savage warfare and

hardened in his hatred of the whites.¹² The Clark expedition ended the British and Indian Revolutionary War in the Ohio country. The incursions of the Indians instigated and directed by the British, ceased for a time to harass the frontier settlers. The Redmen, aided by the Red Coats, had been unable to drive the Americans back beyond the Alleghanies. The western immigration began. The Virginian, the Pennsylvanian, the patriots of New England, turned their faces toward the "promised land" of the Northwest Territory. But the Ohio settler was not yet to possess his home in peace and security.

As before noted, Tecumseh's first taste of war was when he witnessed the destruction of his Piqua home. As a young warrior he doubtless received his "baptism of fire" in the campaigns of Caldwell and Clark, in the latter one of which his brother Chee-seekau was wounded, and it is related¹³ that Tecumseh at the commencement of the action became frightened and ran. That is difficult to believe, and if true was the only instance in his life when he betrayed timidity or fright. In the next action recorded in which Tecumseh was engaged, his conduct was that of both bravery and humanity. Thoroughly imbued with animosity to the whites, he early took part in the attacks constantly made by the Indians on the frontier immigrants as they came down the Ohio on the flat boats. In these attacks, though yet in his teens, he evinced great cunning and total absence of fear. It was the cruel custom of his people after capturing these boats, to seize the property and then torture and often burn the prisoners. When he first witnessed this revolting act, he expressed his abhorrence and disgust in a fiery and forceful speech, declaring he would never take part in or permit, if he could prevent, such barbarous cruelty. He rigidly adhered to that resolve. His instructions to his warriors were, when entering battle, "Kill the enemy if possible and leave none to be captured, but if prisoners fall into your hands, treat them humanely." That principle, far above the usual sentiment of his savage people, he ever fearlessly enforced. What an incident for the brush of the painter. The youthful champion of his race, in the forest wilds

¹² Draper manuscript.

¹³ Benjamin Drake.

upon the banks of the Ohio, pleading in his fiery eloquence with his savage warriors that they treat a prisoner with the humanity of civilized warfare. It was the fearless expression of the natural instinct of a noble character, the spark of the divine kindled in the bosom of the untaught and unrestrained barbarian.

FIRST JOURNEY SOUTH.

Thus early enured to frontier warfare, a new phase of education was opened to him in wide travel among foreign tribes, which broadened his knowledge and expanded his fame and power. In the year 1787¹⁴ Tecumseh started from the Maumee¹⁵ with his brother Cheeseekau and a party of Kiscopocokes on a westward "hunting and predatory expedition." They made a stay of some months in the Mississinaway¹⁶ region, a country inhabited by the Miami tribes. Thence the party moved west through Illinois onto the Mississippi on the Missouri side of which, near the mouth of the latter river, they encamped eight or nine months. They then proceeded south toward the Cherokee country. While in the neighborhood of Fort Massac¹⁷ they enjoyed a Buffalo chase, during which Tecumseh was thrown from his horse and had his thigh broken. The accident detained them some months, when they continued to the Southeast, the country of the Cherokees¹⁸. The Cherokees were at war with the Whites and the Shawnee party, ready for adventure and hostile to the frontiersmen, gladly joined in the contest. In an attack upon a frontier fort¹⁹ Cheeseekau lost his life and Tecumseh his best brother, companion and friend. In this Cherokee campaign Tecumseh exhibited great skill and courage, being engaged in numerous dangerous encounters and daring adventures.

¹⁴ Anthony Shane.

¹⁵ Shane says Fort Wayne which was erected on the Maumee near its source at the confluence of the St. Joseph and the St. Mary. The Fort was not built (by Wayne) till 1794. Its site was a favorite Indian center.

¹⁶ River in North Central Indiana, a branch of the Wabash.

¹⁷ On the Ohio near its entrance into the Mississippi.

¹⁸ Western portions of North and South Carolina and Eastern Tennessee.

¹⁹ Benjamin Drake.

Several times he narrowly escaped being captured or killed. Many palefaces were the victims of his unerring rifle or his bloody tomahawk. He widely traversed the South. The tribes of Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Mississippi were visited by him and learned of his skill as a huntsman and valor as a warrior. He returned home through western Virginia, crossed the Ohio near the mouth of the Scioto, visited the country of his boyhood days on the Mad river, reaching the Auglaize in the Fall of 1790, having been a wanderer for three years. He must have found his native land to his liking, for Ohio was in a warlike condition. There had been "doings" in the Ohio country during his absence.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY ESTABLISHED.

The year of his departure (1787) had been a remarkable one in the new republic, memorable for three great national enactments. They were (1) the "Ordinance of 1787" creating the Northwest Territory; (2) the sale by the continental congress in New York of the apportioned land to the Ohio Company; and (3) the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the convention in Philadelphia. The arrival of the Mayflower at Marietta (April, 1788) was the advent of the new civilization in the Northwest Territory. Ohio was being settled by the heroes and veterans of the War for Independence. The Ohio Valley had indeed passed to the United States and had been opened to the pilgrims from the New England colonies. But the Indians were still the chief occupants, and with no feeble title, its claimants. Not yet was the recent enemy of the Americans, the British, entirely subdued or expelled. Great Britain still retained and occupied many of her military posts within the territory ceded to the United States.²⁰ Among these retained posts were those at Mackinac, Detroit and the Ohio posts at the mouths of the Sandusky and the Maumee.²¹ One of

²⁰ See article on Ohio in the American Revolution by the writer in Ohio Centennial Celebration.

²¹ Great Britain held these posts under pretense of regarding them as a guarantee by the Americans to carry out the agreement in the Paris treaty of 1783, that the debts owing from the Americans to the British creditors would be paid.

the motives, if not the main one, on the part of England for unwarrantably holding these posts, was to keep in touch with the Indian of the West and goad him on to continue the warfare against the Western colonist. Great Britain hoped the newly-formed league of American states would soon prove a "rope of sand" and dissolve, or at least that the Western country might be regained and restored to colonial independence. The Indians were assured of the continued sympathy and support of their former British patrons. The Indian, with this "moral" support at his back, was not slow to renew his protest at the occupation by the American of his hunting grounds in the Northwest. The Revolution was still to be continued in the Ohio country. The British beguiled the Redman into the belief that the American had no right the tribes of the forest were bound to respect. The Indian, urged on by British agents, began at once to commit depredations and to destroy the property and take the lives of the settlers in Ohio:

All along the winding river
And down the shady glen,
On the hill and in the valley,
The voice of war resounds again.

The darkness of night was made lurid by the flames of the burning cabin and the solitude of the forest was broken by the rifle crack of the stealthily approaching savage and the groans of the dying frontiersman and the shrieks of his homeless and defenceless wife and children.

INDIAN TROUBLES AND TREATIES.

This is not the place to attempt to thread the way through the labyrinthian history of treaties between the white invader and the Indian for title to the territory occupied by the latter. We shall refer only to those bearing directly upon our narrative.

Ever since the civilized nations of the world began to occupy lands peopled by savages, they have based their claims upon the right of discovery, followed by occupation. This principle has been judicially affirmed by the United States Supreme Court, which declared "that discovery gave an exclusive right of occu-

pancy, either by purchase or conquest," and also to sovereignty.²² It was not a custom with the French, at any time, at any points of their settlements in the West to make large purchases of land from the Indians.²³ Small tracts about their posts invariably served to supply their wants. At the Treaty of Paris (1763) these small tracts about the forts of Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, etc., were all the French ceded to the British. Following this treaty came the conspiracy of the great Ottawa chief Pontiac, who at the head of eighteen combined tribes, undertook to exterminate the conquering British from the Western country. His effort, brilliant and bloody, was a failure and in 1768—year of the birth of Tecumseh—the Treaty of Fort Stanwix²⁴ was made in which the Iroquois Six Nations yielded to England their claim to all territory south of the Ohio as far as the Cherokee or Tennessee river. The Ohio river was at the same time fixed as the boundary line between the Whites on the South and East and the Indians on the North and West. The Ohio thus became the established barrier to separate the two conflicting races.

Thus matters stood until the close of the Revolution when England in the Treaty of Peace (Paris, 1783) transferred her Western claims to the United States. But she conveyed only what she had previously received from France, excepting the guarantee of the Iroquois Six Nations and the Southern tribes to a part of the land south of the Ohio.²⁵ No part of the Northwest territory claimed by the Miamis, Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots or Hurons and other tribes west and north was ceded by England to the United States. But Congress assumed that the international treaty (1783) bestowed upon the United States the full right to all territory then transferred and regarded the right of the Indians to the territory as forfeited by their acts of warfare against the colonial government during the Revolution. Congress therefore made no attempt to purchase the land from the Indians, but began to form treaties of peace with them and to suggest its

²² Johnson v. McIntosh, 8 Wheaton 543.

²³ Brice, Fort Wayne.

²⁴ Fort Stanwix was erected by General Stanwix in 1758 on the present site of Rome, N. Y.

²⁵ Brice, Fort Wayne.

own boundary lines. The government also determined to enter into pacts, tribe by tribe, rather than to deal with them in a mass. The Indians were to be regarded as being divided into so many separate and distinct nations and powers having respective rights over separate territorial limitations. In pursuance of this policy the government concluded a treaty at Fort Stanwix in October, 1784, with the Iroquois Six Nations in which the latter relinquished their claim to the Western territory north and west of the Ohio. By this agreement the Iroquois, who had been pressing west along the southern shores of Lake Erie, were in fact shut out from any further advance in that direction. The pretension of the Six Nations to make a sale of this territory (Ohio) angered the Western tribes, who claimed it as within their own jurisdiction. Nor were the Iroquois unanimously in favor of the treaty. Red Jacket, the eloquent chief of the Senecas, Joseph Brant, the distinguished statesman chief of the Mohawks, and other chiefs protested against the validity of the Fort Stanwix treaty, claiming that all the tribes must concur in any treaty with the government.

In January, 1785, the Americans completed a treaty at Fort McIntosh²⁶ with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas. It was then agreed for a satisfactory consideration that the northwest portion of what is now Ohio "should remain inviolably in the Indian possession, except that the whites should be allowed tracts, six miles square, about any military post which was within the territory."²⁷ This treaty secured thirty million acres to the entering settlers.²⁸ In January, 1786, a treaty was held at Fort Finney, mouth of the Great Miami, with the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawnees, but chiefly to secure the Shawnees, "the most conceited and warlike of all the aborigines, the first in battle and the last at a treaty."²⁹

²⁶ Built by Gen. Lachlin McIntosh on the Ohio, thirty miles below Fort Pitt and near the mouth of Beaver Creek.

²⁷ The region thus reserved was on Lake Erie from Cuyahoga to the Maumee, south of Portage connecting Maumee and Miami, east to Tuscarawas at Fort Lawrence; north to the Lake.

²⁸ Justin Winsor; the Western Movement.

²⁹ They were "the most deceitful in human shape." Article on Shawnees in *Encyclopedia Americana*.

Three hundred of this obstinate tribe were present and they agreed to confine themselves to the territory between the Great Miami and the Wabash and "to relinquish to the United States all title or pretense of title they ever had to lands east, west and south of the east, west and south lines described, etc." But the other tribes west refused to recognize this Shawnee bargain and the Shawnees themselves paid little attention to its binding force and broke over the lines and continued hostile incursions. It became necessary for George Rogers Clark in the summer of the same year (1786) to lead an armed force of a thousand men against the Wabash Indians, while Colonel Benjamin Logan at the head of five hundred mounted riflemen crossed the Ohio (at Maysville) and penetrated the Indian country as far as the head waters of Mad river, burning eight large Indian towns, destroying many fields of corn, taking many prisoners and killing many Shawnee warriors, among them a distinguished chief.³⁰

These treaties caused great discontent among the non-assenting tribes, and great councils were held at Detroit and Niagara for the purpose of uniting the tribes against the encroachments of the whites and the repudiation of attempted treaties. In the councils the British agents were active in "egging on" the Redmen. Meanwhile (1786) Joseph Brant had gone to England and appealed to the British authorities in behalf of the whole Indian race, complaining that England should have protected the Indian in the Treaty of Peace (1783) and should now use its efforts to keep the Americans south of the Ohio. He was met with deaf ears and returning made a protest against the congressional policy of the government of treating with separate tribes, instead of covenanting with the entire body of Indians.

On the 9th of January, 1789, General St. Clair, the territorial governor of the Northwest,³¹ succeeded in assembling at his Fort Harmar headquarters, mouth of the Muskingum, a great number of representative members of various tribes. Two treaties were concluded. The first with the Six Nations, except the Mohawks, whom Brant had led off to Detroit. This treaty confirmed the

³⁰ Dillon's Indiana.

³¹ St. Clair was elected by Congress governor of the territory northwest off the Ohio River, on October 5th, 1787.

provisions of the one made at Fort Stanwix (1784). The second Harmar treaty was with the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chipewewa, Pottawattamie and Sac tribes. This treaty confirmed the grants made by the tribes named at the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney (1785). It will be noticed that the Shawnees were conspicuous for their absence at the Harmar treaty.

These treaties of St. Clair, especially the second one, were ignored by the Indian tribes not participating and were more or less ignored by the tribes who were parties to the agreements, "the Shawnees being particularly insolent and renewing their restless maraudings."³² Little was needed to start them on the warpath. That the British were more or less at the bottom of the Indian discontent the proof is ample and conclusive.

In the spring of 1790 Antoine Gamelin was sent by Major Hamtramck as a peacemaker, under instructions of Governor St. Clair, to the Miami villages. At one of these Gamelin showed the Shawnees and Delawares the treaty concluded at Fort Harmar by St. Clair with the various tribes. In his journal Gamelin says: "Blue Jacket, chief warrior of the Shawnees, invited me to go to his house and told me: 'My friend, by the name and consent of the Shawnees and Delawares I will speak to you. We are all sensible of your speech, and pleased with it; but, after consultation, we cannot give an answer without hearing from our father at Detroit';³³ and we are determined to give you back the two branches of wampum, and to send you to Detroit to see and hear the chief; or to stay here twenty nights for to receive his answer.'" Again (May 3) Gamelin got to the Weas on the Wabash: "They told me that they were waiting for an answer from their eldest brethren. 'We approve very much our brethren for not giving a definite answer without informing of it all the lake nations; that Detroit was the place where the fire was lighted; then it ought first to be put out there; that the English commander is their father, since he threw down our French father. They could do nothing without his approbation.'"

³² Justin Winsor — *The Western Movement.*

³³ British Commander.

EXPEDITIONS OF HARMAR AND ST. CLAIR.

General Josiah Harmar, a Revolutionary veteran, was appointed commander-in-chief of the United States army September 29, 1789, and was at once directed to proceed against the Indians. He centered a force of some fifteen hundred men at Fort Washington (Cincinnati). His army consisted of some three hundred regulars and eleven hundred "militia," which really meant indiscriminate volunteers, mostly from Kentucky, aged men and inexperienced boys, many of whom had never fired a gun; "there were guns without locks and barrels without stocks, borne by men who did not know how to oil a lock or fire a flint." With this "outfit" General Harmar proceeded (September 30, 1890), into the heart of the Indian country, around the headwaters of the Maumee and the Miami. The Indians under the British had made ample preparations for the reception of General Harmar's forces. Arms, ammunition and stores had been issued to the Indians in great abundance by Chief Joseph Brant and Alexander McKee, and Captains Bunbury and Silvie of the British troops. The Indians thus equipped in parties of hundreds set out for the upper Miami towns, whither they understood the forces of the United States were bending their course. The Indians, in far less numbers than the American army, were led by the renowned Miami chief, Me-che-cannah-quah, better known as Little Turtle, who by wily strategy divided Harmar's army and defeated and routed the expedition. Harmar, chagrined and humiliated, retreated to Fort Washington, after suffering great loss of men. It was a stunning blow for the young republic, and created havoc and terror among the Ohio settlers.

It was just after the defeat of Harmar that Tecumseh returned from his long journey and absence from home.³⁴ He found the entire Indian population of the Northwest, estimated to be at that time about thirty thousand, and particularly those of Ohio, in a terribly agitated and inflammable state. Moreover, flushed with their victory over Harmar, they were highly elated and emboldened to further and aggressive attacks upon their

³⁴ Benjamin Drake.

white enemies. It was now evident to the government that large measures must be taken to establish the authority of the United States among the Indians and protect the Ohio settlements. Washington called Governor St. Clair to Philadelphia, and with the approval of Congress placed him in command of an army to be organized for a formidable Indian expedition.

In order to distract the attention of the tribesmen while preparations were being made by General St. Clair, two incursions into the heart of the Indian country were effected in the summer of 1791. General Charles Scott, a Revolutionary hero, who had settled in Kentucky, led (June) an expedition of seven hundred and fifty Kentucky recruits from the mouth of the Kentucky river to the Indians towns on the Wabash. Four months later General James Wilkinson, another distinguished Revolutionary officer, with five hundred and twenty-five men proceeded from Fort Washington by way of the Miami country, in passing through which they threatened and alarmed the Ohio (Indians), to the Indian settlements on the Eel river³⁵ where they destroyed the Indian villages. These two sudden and bold dashes of Scott and Wilkinson did little real damage to the Ohio Indians, though they did avert attention from St. Clair's preparations as was intended. By the first of October (1791) St. Clair was ready with an army of about twenty-five hundred men, including regulars sent from the east and the Kentucky militia, to leave Fort Washington. He advanced cautiously northward to the Great Miami where he built Fort Hamilton; thence he picked his way to the site of Fort Jefferson which he also erected.³⁶ The news of St. Clair's invasion of the Miami country soon reached the Indians of the interior.

Tecumseh was chosen to lead a small party of spies or scouts with orders to watch and report the approach, when sighted, of the American army. He discharged this duty with characteristic skill and faithfulness. While concealed on Nettle creek, a small tributary of the Little Miami, he and his party descried St. Clair's troops passing on the way from Fort Jefferson to the north. Te-

³⁵ Branch of the Wabash.

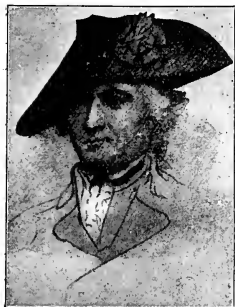
³⁶ Brice — Fort Wayne.

cumseh's prompt report to the chiefs enabled them to quickly and stealthily prepared to make an unexpected attack.³⁷ The main advance of St. Clair's army consisting of about fourteen hundred men under General Butler, arrived at a favorable camping point on one of the headwaters of the Wabash, where Fort Recovery was later built. Here a temporary encampment was made with the intention of soon proceeding to the head of the Maumee and there erecting a fort. But the Indians to the number of twelve hundred, under the shrewd and fearless leadership of Chiefs Little Turtle (Miami), Blue Jacket (Shawnee) and Buck-ong-a-helas (Delaware), were lying in wait and just before sunrise sprang with terrific whoops and indescribable yells upon the surprised soldiers. The story of the dire result is a tale that has often been rehearsed. It was a desperate, irregular combat, the troops were completely demoralized and stampeded. They sought refuge in hasty flight, but less than half escaped; the camp and artillery were all abandoned; not a horse was left; the soldiery threw away their arms and accoutrements as they fled, strewing the roads for miles. Some six hundred men were killed, besides thirty-five officers; while twenty-five officers and two hundred and fifty men were wounded. The tortures inflicted by the infuriated Indians upon the wounded and the prisoners, among the latter of whom were many women who had followed the fortunes of their soldier husbands, were too awful to relate. This disaster, in the extent of its loss, was equal to, while its frightful details far exceeded, the defeat of the Continental army under Washington at Germantown, which was one of the worst repulses the colonists received.³⁸ Great public odium rested on St. Clair because of this repulse and the administration of Washington was criticised as being too weak and incompetent to cope with the Indian uprisings.

³⁷ Fort Jefferson was forty-four miles north of Fort Hamilton and six miles south of present city of Greenville. Fort St. Clair was a little north of midway between Forts Hamilton and Jefferson and was built in the winter of 1791-2, after St. Clair's defeat.

³⁸ In January, 1792, General Wilkinson conducted a small force from Fort Washington to the battle-ground of St. Clair's defeat and gave decent burial to the bodies of the slain, which were interred in great pits amid the snow and ice of an excessively cold winter.

Tecumseh was not in the St. Clair defeat, but his Shawnee brethren under Blue Jacket were among the fiercest fighters and the most cruel of the victors. The Indian problem had now become a



ST. CLAIR.

“burning question” in more senses than one, and there was great danger that the powerful Six Nations of the East would join the Ohio tribes in going upon the war-path. The retention of the military posts, the complicity of the British and Canadian agents and the constant friendly intercourse between the British garrisons and the Indians was the cause for much parleying between the American Government and the British cabinet. The people of New England, no less than the

western settlers, were becoming irritable and impatient over the perfidy of Great Britain. An unsuccessful campaign always brings trouble and condemnation upon the government. Popular dissent was greatly aroused.

MAD ANTHONY WAYNE.

The westerners felt sorely aggrieved, and every act of the general government tending towards conciliation with the British, who were charged with inciting the Indians on the frontier, was looked upon with intense disfavor. The complex condition of affairs tested the sagacity and diplomacy of Washington, the wisdom of Congress and the patience and confidence of the people. It was evident the mutual interests, and indeed, combined efforts of the British and the Indians of Ohio, must be met by no indecisive measures before the Republic could achieve the territorial independence which it was thought had been assured by the Paris Treaty of 1783. Washington anxiously scanned the list of his officers for a reliable successor to St. Clair. The choice finally fell upon Anthony Wayne, the dashing, resolute hero of Ticonderoga, Germantown, Monmouth and the stormer of Stony Point. The appointment caused the British some solici-

tude. They had heard of Wayne. Upon the announcement of his selection, Mr. George Hammond, the British minister to the American Government, wrote home that Wayne was "the most active, vigilant and enterprising officer in the American army, but his talents were purely military." Mr. Hammond here indulges in some unconscious British humor. It is generally supposed that military talents are the chief qualification for a campaign leader. Wayne's were found to be sufficient. If he were "mad" there was incomparable method in his madness.

But more than a year intervenes before Wayne arrives on the scene of action. Meantime, the Ohio tribes, "drunk with victory," terrorized the Ohio country and committed untold atrocities upon the frontiersmen. In these Tecumseh was much in evidence. He diversified his hunting pastimes with forays upon the whites. He especially delighted in placing himself at the head of small bands of Shawnee braves and in skirmishing the country for the purpose of capturing or destroying the property of the settlers, of burning their cabins and if possible braining the inmates. Drake, his biographer, relates some of these warlike incidents at length.³⁹ In the years 1791 and 1792 he had perilous encounters and hair-breadth escapes. One of these was at Big Rock, between Loramie's creek and Piqua, where he was surprised and attacked by a party of some sixty whites, narrowly escaping with his life. In these marauding escapades he several times came in contact with the great Indian hunter Simon Kenton; twice at least within the years above noted; once on the banks of the east fork of the Little Miami and again on the waters of Paint Creek in the Scioto valley.⁴⁰ Nor were the predatory feats of Tecumseh confined to Ohio; one of his boldest was committed in Virginia in the woods of the Little Kanawha, where he stole some cattle and killed their owners.⁴¹ But he was soon called from this life of a savage bandit to the nobler field of racial warfare.

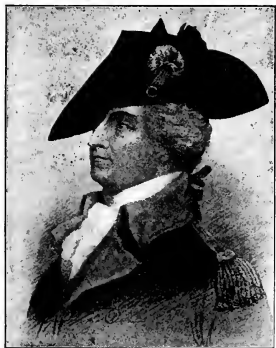
Wayne arrived at Fort Washington, April, 1793, and nearby established his recruiting and drilling camp, which he called "Hobson's Choice," it being the only suitable place for the pur-

³⁹ Others are to be found in the Draper manuscript.

⁴⁰ Collins' Kentucky and McDonald's Sketches.

⁴¹ Hildreth's Pioneers.

pose in that vicinity. The United States government made every possible effort to bring about a peaceful agreement with the Indians and thus prevent the horrors of the impending war. But the attempts were unavailing. The Redmen became more and more implacable and hostile. The year before (1792) messengers sent by the Americans from Fort Washington to ask for a council were brutally murdered by the Indians. General Wayne, when in camp at Legionville, on his way from Pittsburg to Fort Washington, received a visit from the famous Seneca chief, Cornplanter, who told the general that the Indians would insist



ANTHONY WAYNE.

on the Ohio river being the boundary between the Indians and the white people.

In the summer of 1793, the government sent a commission to Detroit to bring about a conference with the western tribes. Many nations, the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Mingoes, Pottawatomies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chipewas, Munsees, Seven Nations of Canada, Senecas of Glaize (Auglaize river), Nanticohees, Creeks and Cherokees, were present. But the Indians were determined on war. They regarded themselves as invincible. The British agents were spurring them on and promising to rally to their aid. The Spaniards who held the country west of the Mississippi were unfriendly to the Americans and gave signs of assistance to the Indians. The war was inevitable. There was nothing for Wayne to do but to move forward. He "struck camp" October 6, 1793, and entered upon his brilliant campaign, marching with great caution, north mainly along the previous route of St. Clair. His entire force was about three thousand strong. Leaving sufficient detachment to protect Forts Hamilton, St. Clair and Jefferson, he pushed on and established his headquarters at Fort Greenville,

which he erected. Thence he sent forward several companies of infantry and one of artillery to the site of St. Clair's defeat, where the advance division constructed a strong fortification which was appropriately called Fort Recovery.

At the deliberate but intrepid advance of Wayne, the Indians began to exhibit signs of uneasiness and sent him a "speech" asking for a peace parley. The day for parleying was past. The Indians had spurned that alternative. Wayne would fight it out. The Indians, finding war must come, took the initiative and (June, 1794), about fifteen hundred strong, under their puissant general, Little Turtle, attacked Fort Recovery. It was a vicious assault, but the Redmen were repulsed with heavy loss and compelled to retreat.⁴² Tecumseh was with his Shawnee braves in this attack. It was the introduction of the Indians to the troops of Wayne and their first serious check. At last, they had met foemen worthy their savage warfare.

BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBER.

The confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee was the heart of the hostile Indian population. The banks of the two beautiful rivers named "appeared like one continuous village for miles up and down the streams; while for immensity the fields of corn were unrivaled by any from Canada to Florida." In August (1794) Wayne marched his dauntless "Legion," as his army was called, to this river confluence and boldly built there "a strong stockade fort, with four good stock-houses, by way of bastions." He fittingly named it Fort Defiance, for it was defiantly placed in the very midst of the Indian country, whose warriors discretely withdrew down the river. Leaving the Defiance stronghold thoroughly guarded, Wayne deliberately advanced along the north bank of the Maumee to the shallow, stony section of the stream, known as the "Rapids," a few miles below which, on the same side, was located the new British Fort Miami, just

⁴² In this assault Little Turtle was assisted by British Rangers and French-Canadian volunteers in all a force of nearly two thousand.

erected under the direction of General Simcoe, lieutenant-governor of Canada.⁴³

Wayne's army took its position along the left river bank opposite the Rapids; their front line, facing down the stream, extended to the left some two miles; before them lay a stretch of fallen trees which had been blown down by a severe storm. The night before the battle the leaders on either side held a council of war. Lieutenant William Henry Harrison, scarcely twenty-one, was second aid-de-camp to the commander in chief, Wayne, and at this conference submitted the plan of battle.⁴⁴ The intrepid Wayne was impatient for the fight. Neither the Indian host of warriors nor the threatening guns of the British Fort Miami, daunted the hero of Stony Point. Thus reads the quaint and rare poem of Coffinberry:

As in the centre of his train,
In moody revery rode Wayne;
His visage scowled as does the storm,
As from his zeal his breast grew warm;
And to the braves that circled round
Said he, "If still no face be found
'Tween this and the old British fort,
When there, by George, you shall see sport.
For if the British rascals show
The slightest favor to the foe,
I'll prostrate all their blasted works,
And cut their throats like bloody Turks.
The devils can't evade our search,
Or yet escape by rapid march,
Unless it be from their protection,
Then, blast their hearts, I'll show them action."

⁴³ About 1680 the early French travelers established a fort, generally called Fort Miami, on the St. Marys river near its entrance into the Maumee. In 1750 the French built a Fort Miami on the north bank of the Maumee near the confluence of the St. Joseph. The Fort Miami of Simcoe was built in the spring of 1794, in anticipation of Wayne's campaign against the Indians. It was erected by the order of Lord Dorchester, governor-general of Canada. It was a direct military and hostile invasion of the United States by England. The erection of this fortress gave new assurance to the Indians and roused great indignation among the American people and on the part of Washington.

⁴⁴ Volume 14, p. 222, Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society publications.

At the Indian war council on the eve of the engagement, Blue Jacket, the Shawnee chief and commanding general of the Indian forces, was for war to the bitter end. His warriors he argued had crushed Braddock many years ago and just recently had overcome Harmar and St. Clair and Wayne's turn was next. Little Turtle, the wily and wise chief of the Miamis, was for peace. True, he allowed, they had defeated the other generals of the "long knives" and had driven back their expeditions, but Wayne was different. At Fort Recovery Little Turtle had tasted of the discipline and daring of Wayne's troops. The decision was for battle the next day. It was fought August 20, 1794.



LITTLE TURTLE.

The field chosen was at the Rapids of the Maumee on the wind swept banks, covered with the fallen timber. The ground gave the Indians every advantage, as they secreted themselves in the tall grass amid the tall branches and roots of the up-turned trees.

Wayne directed his front line to advance and charge with lowered arms, to thus arouse the crouching Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and then when they should rise to deliver a well-pointed fire at close range, to be fol-

lower by an instant charge before the hard-pressed enemy might load again.

These unusual and successful tactics outwitted and overwhelmed the savages. They fled in wild dismay, retreating panic stricken, with futile efforts at rallying until they were under the guns of the British who had promised them protection. The gates were closed, Britain's customary perfidy was complete. Wayne's triumph was unsurpassed in Indian warfare. The brilliant and dashing victory of Stony Point was encored. Wayne had become the hero of the second Revolution in the western wilderness, as he had been the victor in its earlier days on the historic fields of New England. The name Wayne was a terror to the

savages. They called him the "Tornado" and the "Whirlwind." He was mettlesome as the eagle, swift and unerring as the arrow, destructive as the hurricane. The Indian courage and resistance was shattered. The Redmen's hope was blasted. Moreover, the Indians were crushed and incensed beyond measure at the falsity of the British, who not only failed to come to their assistance with troops from Detroit as they had promised, but barred to them the gates of Fort Miami, the goal of their retreat, in the hour of their sorest defeat.

In this battle Wayne had in the neighborhood of a thousand soldiers; the force of Blue Jacket amounted to some fourteen hundred warriors and perhaps two hundred British volunteers and regulars.⁴⁵ Tecumseh led the Shawnees in this memorable contest, occupying at first an advanced position in the battle, fighting with his accustomed ferocity and exerting every effort to rally his faltering warriors. While attempting to load his rifle he put in a bullet before the powder and was then unable to use his gun. Hotly pursued by the enemy, he fell back with his party till they met another detachment of his tribe. He urged them to stand fast and fight, saying that if anyone would lend him a gun he would show them how to use it. A fowling-piece was handed him, with which he fought for some time, till again forced to give ground. In his retreat he met another party of Shawnees and induced them to make a stand in a thicket, from which in the shelter of the brush he gallantly returned the fire of the foe, until again driven back by the irresistible columns of the Wayne victors.⁴⁶ "It was the most complete and im-

⁴⁵ Delawares 500, Shawnees 350, Wayandots 300, Tawas 250; Fort Miami is said to have contained 250 militia and 200 regular troops and that from a third to a half of the fort contingent took part in the battle with the Indians. Brice says that about 70 British soldiers aided the Indians.

⁴⁶ Anthony Shane, quoted in Brice's Fort Wayne, says, Tecumseh's second brother, Sauwaseekau, a brave warrior, was with Tecumseh and was killed at his side in the thickest of the fray. The Indians suffered heavily in the loss of their leaders, many chiefs gave their lives in the struggle of Fallen Timbers; among them Me-sa-sa, or Turkey Foot, whose memorial, a huge boulder bearing the prints of a turkey foot, still stands upon the alleged spot where the Ottawa chief fell.

portant victory ever gained over the Northwestern Indians during the forty years' warfare, to which it put an end; and it was the only considerable pitched battle in which the Indians lost more than their foes."⁴⁷ The wisdom and foresight of Little Turtle had been vindicated. The conquest of the Redmen was indeed decisive.

THE GREENVILLE TREATY.

At Greenville, Wayne was soon visited by numerous chiefs and warriors, to whom he explained that the United States, having conquered Great Britain, was entitled to the peaceful pos-



JOSEPH BRANT.

sion of the lake posts, and that the new American nation was anxious to make terms with the Indians, to protect them in the occupation of abundant hunting grounds and to compensate them for the lands needed by the white settlers. The Indians were prepared to negotiate, but the British agents, John Graves Simcoe, Alexander McKee and Chief Joseph Brant, still strove to stimulate them to continue hostilities and advised the Indians to make pretense of peace so as to throw the Americans off their guard and thus permit another and more suc-

cessful attack. These Michiavelian British miscreants even advised the Indians to convey by deed their Ohio land to the king of England "in trust," so as to give the British a pretext for assisting them, and in case the Americans refused to abandon their settlements and stockades and quit their alleged possessions and go beyond the Ohio to the East and South, the allied British and Indians might make a united and general war and drive the Americans across the Ohio river boundary. The righteous (?) protection by Great Britain of the oppressed Indians knew no bounds! It is the grimmest joke in historic annals.

The battle of Fallen Timber had broken the combined force

⁴⁷ Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*.

of the Indian tribes and destroyed the hope of retrieving their fortunes. There was naught to be done but to yield to their conquerors on the best possible terms. The surrender was formally acknowledged in the Treaty of Greenville, held in the council house of Fort Greenville. General Wayne represented the fifteen fires (states) of the American government and a host of sachems, war chiefs and warriors acted for the different tribes of the Northwest. The tribesmen began to gather early in June, but it was not until the third of August (1795) that an unanimous agreement was reached and ratified. It was a great event in American history. The ceremonies were long and elaborate after the most formal manner of the tribes. Many lengthy speeches were delivered by the orators of the forest. Between eleven and twelve hundred warriors were present to participate in the proceedings. The tribes subscribing to the treaty were the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Weas, Piankeshaws, Kickapoos and Kaskaskias.⁴⁸ The representative delegates of these tribes were headed by the greatest chiefs and sachems, such as Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Tarhe (the Crane), New Corn (Chief of the Pottowattomies), Buck-on-ge-las, Te-ta-bosksh-ke (king of the Delawares), Mas-sas, Red Pole, Black Hoof, Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, Asi-me-the, Sha-tay-ya-con-yah (Leatherlips), Tey-yagh-tah, and many others, prominent in Indian warfare. Ninety-three chiefs of greater or less distinction signed the treaty in behalf of the tribes above mentioned and subdivisions of the same. Leading up to the signing, there were many great speeches by the orators of the tribes, in which they set forth their wrongs and sufferings and the invalidity and unfaithfulness of previous treaties. But all finally acquiesced in the solemn covenant to keep the peace; and they agreed to surrender to the whites all of what is now southern and eastern Ohio and southern Indiana, and various reservations elsewhere, as at Fort Wayne, Fort Defiance, Detroit and Michilimakinac, the lands around the French towns and the hundred and fifty thousand acres near the falls of the Ohio, which had been allotted to George Rogers Clark and his soldiers.

⁴⁸ See Greenville Treaty by Frazer E. Wilson.

The government, in its turn, acknowledged the Indian title to the remaining territory and agreed to pay the tribes annuities aggregating nine thousand five hundred dollars. Such in short was the Treaty of Greenville. No longer could the Redmen claim the Ohio as the boundary of their domain. The barrier was set farther west, the first step in the westward recession. By the Greenville Treaty nearly two-thirds of the Ohio territory became the possession of the United States, and was lost forever to the defeated Indian. The result of Wayne's victory was not only the subjugation of the hostile aborigines, but it effectually estopped the British endeavors in behalf of the Redman; England was without pretense for its continued warfare against the Americans.

BRITISH POSTS ARE SURRENDERED.

By the treaty with England, negotiated by John Jay,⁴⁹ the British government agreed to evacuate the American posts she had so unlawfully and arrogantly retained for more than ten years. The provisions of the treaty were carried out in the summer of 1796, when for the first time the British ceased to float their flag in the territory of the United States. The hope of the Red Coats departed with the defeat of the Redmen.

Tecumseh was not at the meeting for the Greenville Treaty. Though conquered, he was not subdued. He refused to bow in obedience to his vanquishers. He haughtily declined to subscribe to his subjugation. He ever "hated the Greenville Treaty." He held that the treaty was the "effect of force and not of justice." He still maintained that the Ohio river was the boundary line between the two inimical races, as had been determined by the Stanwix Treaty of 1768. Instead of yielding to the inevitable as did the other chiefs, Tecumseh rededicated his life and energies to the cause of his race and the abrogation of the Greenville Treaty. He would still deny the right of the white man west

⁴⁹ The ratifications of the Jay Treaty were exchanged October 28, 1795, and on February 26, 1796, and proclamation was made of the treaty's binding force. In the summer of this year the British surrendered the posts they had contrived to occupy contrary to the treaty of 1783. Fort Miami was surrendered July 11, 1796.

of the Ohio, and when chance should come, defy with every power at his command the white intrusion.

The Greenville Treaty gave the tide of western immigration renewed impetus and the settlements of Ohio progressed without serious hindrance for some fifteen years, until the War of 1812 gave the Indians the final hazard in the destiny of their race. Meanwhile Tecumseh, with sweeping foresight and stupendous fortitude, was patriotically preparing for that hazard.

TECUMSEH IN THE PEACE INTERVAL.

Wayne's war ended, Tecumseh's occupation was gone, and he chafed under the restrictions of peaceful pursuits. The hunt was tame excitement for him. It was purely business. He did not care for game, for peltry, for property or its acquisition. He was not avaricious and his generosity was proverbial. The game and furs he secured or the goods he got by exchange he always dispensed to the needy and to his friends with a bountiful hand. This was one of the secrets of his great popularity with his people. Yet he was as great a hunter as he was a warrior. Indeed, in the chase he was pre-eminent. It is related that while encamped on Deer creek⁵⁰ in 1795, one of his brothers and several of the young Shawnees made a wager with Tecumseh that they could kill as many deer in three days as he could. Tecumseh accepted the challenge and all repaired to the woods. When the three days were up the contestants returned with their deer skins to award the palm to the winner. None of the party had more than twelve skins except Tecumseh, who had thirty, nearly three times as many as any one of his competitors. From this time he was acknowledged the champion hunter of his nation. But the ambition of Tecumseh was beyond the honors of the huntsman. In the summer of this same year (1795) while the tribesmen were gathering for the Greenville Treaty, Tecumseh was initiating his reactionary movement. He began to style himself a chief and commenced to raise a party of his own. He remained on the Deer creek until the spring of 1796, when he moved with his party to the Great Miami near

⁵⁰ Near where Urbana is now located.

Piqua, where they raised a crop of corn. In the autumn of this year he again changed his residence and went over to the head branch of the White Water, west of the Miami, where he spent the winter and in the following spring (1797) raised another crop of corn, the chief if not almost the exclusive production of Indian agriculture.

In the year 1798 the Delawares, then residing in part on White river, Indiana, invited Tecumseh and his followers to remove to that neighborhood. Tecumseh accepted this friendly overture, made the removal and retained his headquarters in the vicinity named for seven years, during which he engaged in the ordinary pursuits of Indian life, the quest of game, raising crops of corn, and wandering about the country. In all this time, however, he was gradually extending his influence among the different tribes and adding to his band of followers. It was also during his residence on the White river that occurred perhaps the most romantic episode in the life of the great warrior. In his wanderings he came frequently to the white settlements on the Miamis, among others to one about four miles north of the present town of Xenia. Here Tecumseh was a frequent and welcome guest at the home of the pioneer James Galloway, who had a daughter Rebecca, a sweet, pretty girl of fifteen or sixteen, to whose charms of person was added the ability to talk to the Indians in their own language. The heart of the Shawnee chief was smitten by the attractive pale face. Tecumseh's was no faint heart and he would win the fair lady. He asked Rebecca to become his squaw. She only laughed and made fun of such a proposal, which he did not like, saying, "I big chief, make you great squaw. I come next moon." He came again at his appointed time, but to no effect. They parted good friends however, and she saw him no more.⁵¹

During the visits to this settlement it is clearly related that Tecumseh not only indulged in love-making, but also in draughts of "fire water." But when in the spell of a spree, he was jolly and harmless, good naturedly laughing at the fights and pranks of his intoxicated companions. He seemed to have "sown his wild oats" to completion at this period, as we learn from the Eng-

⁵¹ Letter of G. E. Galloway in Draper manuscripts.

lish historian James in his *Military Occurrences*, for after entering upon his great public and patriotic mission with his brother, the Prophet, he abstained almost entirely if not absolutely from the use of intoxicants and strongly urged sobriety on the part of his own and all other tribes.

The wooing of Rebecca recalls the love and matrimonial episodes of Tecumseh as related by Ruddell and Shane in the Draper manuscripts. According to the strictly conventional and common custom of his people Tecumseh easily acquired and dismissed his wives. His matrimonial alliances were sometimes brief. Yet the testimony is that he was ever just and generous to his "better halves" who were always "very fond of him—much more so than he was of them," but he was critically exacting of the acquirements of each wife and the promptness and faithfulness with which she should discharge her domestic duties. Should she prove remiss in her responsibilities, Tecumseh would hand her some handsome presents and give her "a ticket of leave." During his stay with the Creek nation, in the South, it is related he took a wife by whom he had children, but the latter part of the statement at least, cannot be verified. Shane says, however, that during the southern trip "overtures of marriage were made him, but he declined, being unwilling to encumber himself with a wife. Upon his return to the Ohio country "He married after a short courtship, one of the most beautiful women in the Shawnee nation, Mamate by name, she being half white." He lived with her but a short time, until one day desiring her to make a paint pouch from the materials which he furnished. She replied she could not make it herself, but would procure some one to do it for her. Tecumseh at once asked for the return of the materials, remarked he would save her the trouble of seeking assistance, for he could do it himself. He then made her some farewell presents and sent her off. It was the Indian divorce. Mamate, however, was the mother of the only child Tecumseh is reported to have had. It was a boy called Pugeshashenwa, born about 1796. He was cared for by his divorced mother until he was seven or eight years of age, when Tecumseh took him. The boy was carefully reared by his fond father and his aunt Tecumsapease. He survived his father and became an

officer in the British army. A subsequent uxorial alliance as related by Shane is equally illustrative of the Indian custom and the character of Tecumseh. While residing on the White river, the chief "had a beautiful woman (Indian) living with him in the capacity of a wife." Returning one day from a hunting trip, he brought home a fine turkey which he had killed. He gave it to his wife to dress and cook, and as usual, invited in some friends to dinner. When the unfortunate wife brought in the dressed turkey, the fastidious Tecumseh discovered some feathers on it. "He said nothing until the meal was over and his friends departed, when he presented his wife with a bundle of clothes and told her she must depart and drove her out." The same authority says Tecumseh's last wife was Wa-be-le-ga-ne-qua, or the White Wing, a Shawnee, with whom he lived longer than any other, marrying her in 1802 and parting from her in 1807.

INDIAN OUTBREAKS.

While the crushing defeat of Fallen Timber quelled any further combined or extended warfare by the Indians, they nevertheless continued to sullenly and silently nurse their grievances and hopefully await an opportune time for redress. Troubles of minor importance were incessantly breaking out, ventful ebullition of illy restrained volcanic fires. A serious outbreaking having occurred between the settlers and neighboring Indians on the Mad river, a council was held in 1799 just north of the present site of Urbana. Several chiefs were present, Tecumseh being the main speaker, and on this occasion displaying in an unusual degree great gifts of oratory, holding his auditors of both races, at times spellbound with his flights of eloquence. Again in 1803 (spring) we find Tecumseh in a council at Chillicothe, then the capital of the new state of Ohio, endeavoring to allay by his persuasive arguments a threatened clash between the whites and Indians over the massacre of Captain Thomas Herrod.⁵²

⁵² General McArthur and a party of whites had previously met Tecumseh and the Indians at a gathering at Fort Greenville over the Herrod affair. To reassure the whites, Tecumseh agreed to accompany McArthur back to the State Capital at Chillicothe.

Governor Tiffin presided over this conference. "When Tecumseh rose to speak, as he cast his gaze over the multitude which the interesting occasion had drawn together, he appeared one of the most dignified men I ever beheld. While this orator of nature was speaking, the vast crowd preserved the most profound silence. From the confident manner in which he spoke of the intention of the Indians to adhere to the treaty of Greenville and live in peace and friendship with their white brethren, the apprehensions of the whites were allayed—the settlers returned to their deserted farms, and business generally was resumed throughout that region."⁵³ From this incident it is easy to believe that Tecumseh had attained not only the first place among his own people, but great influence over the white settlers. His nobility and sincerity won the confidence of all. "He was stamped a hero by the hand of nature and equally distinguished himself by policy and eloquence."⁵⁴ Nor was he without the sense of humor, such as the Indian possessed. During this period of our narrative, it is related an explorer from Kentucky lodged one night at a settler's cabin on Bush creek. He was not an Indian hunter, quite the contrary. He was alarmed by information that Indians were in the vicinity. Suddenly Tecumseh entered to visit his friend, the host of the frightened Kentuckian. Tecumseh, seeing the scared guest, pointed his finger at him and in disdainful tones exclaimed, "A big baby! A big baby!" following the contemptuous epithet by slapping the "baby" several times over the shoulder to the greater alarm of the Kentuckian, but great amusement of the other spectators present.

THE PROPHET AND GREENVILLE.

The tribesmen of Tecumseh were in settlements scattered in Ohio and Indiana. He and his immediate followers were still on the White river. Another band was on the Mississinaway.⁵⁵ Many of them resided in the Tawa towns on the head waters of the Auglaize. These latter Tawa Shawnees proposed to the

⁵³ John McDonald, quoted by Drake.

⁵⁴ Ruddell in Draper manuscripts.

⁵⁵ Tributary to the Wabash.

other two bands that they come to the Tawa country and all unite in a common settlement. Tecumseh approved the plan, and the two moving Indiana parties met at Greenville on their way to the Auglaize country. Arriving at Greenville, at the junction of Mud and Greenville creeks, the site seemed to suite the



THE PROPHET.

wanderers and they decided to remain there. The Auglaize destination was abandoned. Greenville thus became the headquarters of the Shawnees, and the most conspicuous and influential town of all their tribe settlements.

And now there comes upon the stage and into the career of Tecumseh his famous brother, Laulewasikaw; a strange contrast

to our hero, both in appearance and character; a figure grotesque and unadmirable but potent and helpful, temporarily at least, to the life purpose of Tecumseh. The Indian is pre-eminently superstitious; vague as are their notions respecting the Diety, they believe in the existence of a Great Spirit, whom they regard with great fear and reverence. They had their Prophets or sacred men, who were the chosen agents or interpreters of this Great Spirit. These Prophets easily swayed, by their pretended or sincerely alleged revelations from Heaven, the credulous minds of the forest savage. Laulewasikaw — meaning the "Loud Voice" — assumed this role of the Prophet just before or at the time of the Greenville settlement. The old Shawnee prophet, named Penagashega, or "Change of Feathers," for many years the inspired adviser of his tribesmen, had died. Laulewasikaw⁵⁶ donned the mantle of the departing Penagashega and assumed his sacred calling. He changed his name to Tenskawautawan,⁵⁷ or "Open Door," because he was to reveal to the Indians the better life which they should pursue; he was to be the way, which had been opened for the deliverance of the red people. The Prophet's career, though short lived was curious, dramatic and intensely interesting. He claimed miraculous powers! That he could heal all diseases and "stay the arm of death in sickness and on the battlefield." He began to declaim against witchcraft, the use of intoxicating liquors, the custom of the Indian women marrying with white men, the adoption by the Indians of the dress and habits of the white people, the practice of selling Indian lands to the whites. He urged the rejection of all influences of white civilization and the absolute return of the Redman to his primitive and simple life. He claimed he had "been up in the clouds" to the very gates of Heaven and was in communication at first hand with the Great Spirit. The Prophet was for a time eminently successful. He was the Mohamet that was to inflame the religious pas-

⁵⁶ Laulewasikaw, also called Olliwachia, was some years younger than Tecumseh, awkward and ugly, being blind in one eye and having rather repellant features. There is no authority for the statement often repeated that he was the twin brother of Tecumseh.

⁵⁷ Also written Ellsquatawa.

sions of his people, while Tecumseh was to stir their patriotism and racial prejudice. The Prophet, it is said, and doubtless with much truth, got many of his ideas from the Shaker and Moravian missionaries; like Peter the Hermit, he was a preaching prophet to arouse the people ultimately to a great crusade against their enemies. He was "accepted" not only by the Shawnees, but members of all tribes, who flocked in great numbers and from great distances, from the Upper Mississippi, Lake Superior and the eastern countries, to hear and believe his pretentious harangues, which were delivered in a dramatic manner amid theatrical mummeries. It was not all comedy, for he not only denounced witchcraft, which was common among his people, and imitating his zealous Puritan predecessors, he put many witches to death with horrible tortures, using the spurious charge of witchcraft as a justification for the summary disposal of any enemy.* How closely allied to the doctrine and doings of the Prophet was his brother Tecumseh can only be conjectured. The general opinion is that Tecumseh regarded the Prophet as a sham, a "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal" to attract the ignorant and unwary. On the contrary, Mr. J. M. Ruddell states in the Draper letters that his father (Stephen Ruddell) said the Prophet had unbounded influence over Tecumseh, who regarded his brother as really possessing supernatural powers. "Tecumseh fully believed all the extravagant sayings of the Prophet, although the character of the Prophet was anything but lovely either in looks or conduct. My father was of the opinion that Tecumseh was the tool of the Prophet and all this seemed to be strange to father, as Tecumseh was much the smarter man in every respect."⁵⁸ Against this testimony is the Anthony Shane manuscript, which says "Tecumseh disbelieved in the prophecy of his brother and was twice in the act of killing him for his failure, once at Greenville and afterwards at Tippecanoe. Te-

⁵⁸ J. M. Ruddell also says "My father's opinion of the Prophet was that he was a bad man and as father was well acquainted with him he had every opportunity to know and while he had a real love and greatest respect for Tecumseh, he had no confidence in the Prophet as he was certainly a great liar and hypocrit."

* See *Leatherlips*, in *Indian Monuments* by E. L. Taylor, Vol. IX, p. 1, *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*.

cumseh was much angered and was with much difficulty prevented from killing him for his false prophecies and cowardice. After opposing him in his prophetic career for some time at Greenville, he found that most of the Indians believed in him, and as a matter of policy he assented and after that made use of him to further his own designs." This latter was probably the real attitude of Tecumseh concerning the claim of his religious brother. Without doubt Tecumseh was by this time absorbingly bent upon his plan of uniting all the tribes of the land into one vast confederacy for the purpose of exterminating the whites from the Northwest Territory and once more establishing the Ohio as the boundary between the two races. He was politic enough to see that the Prophet could be of great assistance in this scheme, as through his priestly office he could play upon the religious prejudices and superstitions of the tribesmen, while he, Tecumseh, might arouse their patriotism and their smouldering hatred of the whites. In the spring of 1807, the Shawnee brothers had assembled several hundred of their people, whom through their harangues they had succeeded in rousing to the highest pitch of excitement, with the view to make their control the stronger and prepare the way for the confederacy of all the tribes of the Northwest.

ALARM AT INDIAN ACTIVITY.

The white settlers, far and near, became alarmed. President Jefferson directed Secretary of War Knox to address a letter to the Indians at Greenville, reminding them they were assembled within the government purchase and requesting them to move to some other point within their own territory. This letter was transmitted to Captain William Wells, the government Indian agent stationed at Fort Wayne. Captain Wells sent Anthony Shane⁵⁹ to Greenville to invite Tecumseh and the Prophet to Fort Wayne for a conference. Tecumseh haughtily told

⁵⁹ Anthony Shane was a half-breed Shawnee. His father was a Frenchman. He spoke French fluently and often acted as an interpreter. He was intimately acquainted with Tecumseh. His manuscript journal now in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society was one of the main sources of information for Benjamin Drake in writing the life of Tecumseh, and has been freely used by the writer of this article.

Shane to "go back and tell Captain Wells that my fire is kindled on the spot appointed by the Great Spirit alone, and if he (Wells) has anything to communicate to me, he must come here; and I will expect him in six days from this time." Wells then sent Shane to Tecumseh with the President's letter. Tecumseh was more indignant than ever. He addressed the messenger and assembled Indians in a glowing and impassioned speech, in which he dwelt upon the injuries the Indians had received from the whites, and especially the continued encroachments of the latter upon the lands of the red men. "These lands are ours," he excitedly exclaimed, "no one has a right to remove us, because we were the first owners; the Great Spirit above us has appointed this place for us, on which to light our fires, and here we will remain. As to boundaries, the Great Spirit above knows no boundaries, nor will his red people acknowledge any." This revealed the unyielding attitude of Tecumseh. These sentiments and convictions, though at times concealed and even denied, were ever his; his hopes, his plans, his efforts were for their realization. The Indians at Greenville increased in numbers and activity; they armed themselves; the Prophet and Tecumseh were visited by bands from every section of the country. Finally in September (1807) the Governor of Ohio⁶⁰ dispatched Thomas Worthington and Duncan McArthur to Greenville to confer with Tecumseh and his brother and learn the object of their assembling such a warlike body of tribesmen, and that too outside of the Indian reservation. It was a great conference. Speeches were made by Blue Jacket, Tecumseh and especially the Prophet, who claimed the assembling to be purely on account of his religious mission to improve the tribesmen, convince them of the error of their ways and persuade them to change their lives and serve the Great Spirit. It was a specious and plausible plea and quite deceived the state commissioners. To still further confirm the deception four chiefs, Tecumseh, Blue Jacket, Roundhead and Panther returned with

⁶⁰ Acting Governor Thomas Kirker.

⁶¹ It was on this journey that Tecumseh pointed out as they passed in sight of it, his birthplace on the Mad river, below Springfield, now known as the Keifer farm.

McArthur and Worthington to Chillicothe.⁶¹ The chiefs remained a week in the state capital, during which time a public council was held. Tecumseh was the principal speaker, and at one time spoke three consecutive hours. It was the impetuous utterances of a burdened and sensitive soul. He reviewed the entrance and advance of the white man upon the Indian territory; the history and features of all the Indian treaties, with which he revealed marvelous familiarity; he denounced the rights of the whites in their forcible conquest; he recited the wrongs endured by his people and their determination to recede no further, but disclaimed any intention on their part to make war upon the United States. It was one of the greatest speeches from the lips of a savage.⁶² It lulled the fears of the whites and so convinced Governor Kirker that there was no danger that he disbanded the militia which he had called out from motives of precaution. Shortly after the event just related a serious disturbance arose over the murder of a white settler near Urbana. The Indians were charged with the crime. A council was called at Springfield. Tecumseh was the chief speaker. He insisted on carrying his tomahawk with him on the plea that it was also his pipe. A backwoodsman offered him a long-stemmed, dirty looking earthen pipe; the chief took the miserable substitute between his thumb and finger, held it up, looked at it disdainfully and threw it, with a sneer, over his head into the bushes. He was permitted to retain his tomahawk pipe.

The Greenville "conspiracy" continued to thrive. The Prophet's fame and influence spread to the remotest tribes. Tecumseh and the Prophet made mysterious journeys to the Indiana and Illinois villages. Governor Harrison addressed a letter to the Prophet again requesting an explanation of his intentions. The Prophet returned a lengthy and adroit reply; a diplomatic document disclaiming any evil purpose.

REMOVAL TO TIPPECANOE.

In the spring of 1808, Tecumseh and the Prophet removed the Greenville quarters to a tract of land granted them by the

⁶² It was interpreted by Stephen Ruddell.

Pottawattamies and Kickapoos, on the Tippecanoe, one of the tributaries of the Wabash river. It was known as the Prophet's Town and here the brothers gathered about them great numbers of Northern Indians, and the Prophet's followers for the first time began to combine warlike sports with their sacred exercises. Tecumseh's genius gradually asserted its ascendancy over the Prophet's gift for exciting religious fanaticism. If Tecumseh did not really sympathize with the charlatanry of the "inspired one" he permitted its progress as a means to his end. Further negotiations took place between the Prophet and Governor Harrison, who became more and more alarmed at the progress of the Prophet. In all these proceedings Tecumseh stood in the background, shifting the scenes, while the Prophet seemed to be the leader and stood the apparent chief actor before the foot-lights, but Tecumseh's greatness is shown nowhere more than in his ability to conceal his purpose and patiently abide his time. He more and more convinced himself that if he could succeed in uniting all the Indian tribes so that the southern border could be harrassed at the same time that the western frontier was being assailed, the whites could be overcome and brought to sue for peace and the tide of western immigration stayed, and the Ohio be again and forever the dividing barrier. Tecumseh, though a savage of the forest, evidenced in his character a rare combination of Italian craft, Spanish revengefulness, German patience and Anglo-Saxon fortitude. In the winter of 1808-9 Tecumseh visited many tribes in the Indiana territory and attended a council at Sandusky when he endeavored to prevail upon the Wyandots and Senecas to remove and join his quarters on the Tippecanoe, where they would be farther from the whites and could enjoy greater game fields. Tarhe, the Crane, opposed the plan, openly expressing his fear that Tecumseh was working for no good purpose at Tippecanoe.⁶³ Governor Harrison decided to

⁶³ Tarhe was always, after the Greenville Treaty, which he was the first to sign, a steadfast friend of the whites. He was the Grand Sachem of his tribe and the acknowledged head of all the tribes who were engaged in the war with the United States which ended in the Treaty of Greenville, and in that character the duplicate of the original treaty, engrossed on parchment, was committed to his custody.

trust no more to the peaceful representations of the Prophet. He had indisputable evidence that the Indians were arming themselves and that the British in Canada were aiding them in every way possible. The United States garrison at Fort Knox — a post about two miles from Vincennes — the capital of the Indiana territory — was augmented by companies of militia. Alarm posts were established for the protection of Vincennes. Information reached Governor Harrison that the preparation of the Indians for a sudden uprising were wide spread and that Detroit, St. Louis, Fort Wayne, Chicago and Vincennes were all to be the points for surprise and destruction. The bloody plan of Pontiac's conspiracy was to be re-enacted. Tecumseh's hostility to the whites had been whetted to fever heat by the treaties made at Fort Wayne (1809), between Governor Harrison for the government and several Indian tribes⁶⁴ for the extinguishment of the titles of the natives, to lands extending for some sixty miles along the Wabash. Millions more of Indian acres for annuities averaging the fraction of a cent an acre were added to the possession of the United States and this in the very heart of the Tippecanoe country and while Tecumseh was arousing his tribesmen to resistance. It was a fresh and galling goad to his efforts.

THE COUNCIL OF VINCENNES.

Events were rapidly culminating when in August (1810) Tecumseh accompanied by some three hundred of his chosen "braves" descended the Wabash by canoes from Tippecanoe to Vincennes. This in response to an almost commanding invitation from Governor Harrison for a "talk." The governor had arranged to hold the council on the broad portico of his house which had been fitted up for the occasion. He was attended, to make the ceremony impressive and safe, by the judges of the Supreme Court, officers of the army, and on the spacious lawn, canopied by the overshadowing branches of lofty trees, a company of the militia and a crowd of resident citizens. At the hour appointed, Tecumseh with some forty chiefs and "big men" all

⁶⁴ Delawares, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Eel River, Weas and Kickapoos.

attired in their most resplendent savage dress, approached within a few rods of the porch. It was one of the most picturesque scenes in Indian history. The governor invited the great chief, through the interpreter, to come forward and take a seat with him and his counselors, saying that was "the wish of their Great Father, the President of the United States." Tecumseh paused for a moment, cast his piercing eye about the scene surrounding him, then "raising his tall form to its greatest height, and pointing his sinewy arm towards the heaven, with manner indicative of supreme contempt for the paternity assigned him, said in a voice whose clarion tones were heard throughout the assembly: 'My father? — The Great Spirit is my father — the earth is my mother — and on her bosom I will recline.'"⁶⁵ He then in all the native dignity of his race settled himself on the ground. He then arose, animated by the splendor and stimulus of the occasion, made one of his masterful speeches. "The Great Spirit," he said, "gave this great island (America) to his red children; he placed the whites on the other side of the big water. They were not content with their own, but they came to take ours from us. They have driven us from the sea to the lakes. They have taken upon themselves to say that this tract belongs to the Miamis, this to the Delawares, this to the Ottawas and so on. But the Great Spirit intended it as the common property of us all. Our father (President) tells us that we (Shawnees) have no business upon the Wabash; the land belongs to the other tribes; but the Great Spirit ordered us to come here and here we will stay." He then proceeded to say, that unless a stop was put to the further encroachments of the whites, the fate of the Redmen was sealed. They had been driven from the Atlantic across the Alleghanies and now their possessions on the Wabash and the Illinois were to be taken from them — that in a few years they would not have ground enough to bury their warriors on this side of the "Father of Waters;" that the tribes were being driven towards the setting sun, like a galloping horse; that for himself and his warriors, he had determined to resist all further aggressions of the whites and that with his consent or that of the Shawnees, the white man

⁶⁵ Law's History of Vincennes, and A Jones, an eye-witness in the Draper manuscripts.

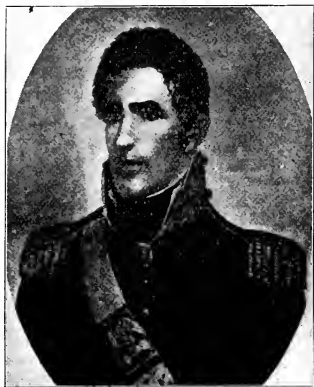
should never acquire another foot of land. Tecumseh argued in this speech, which was long continued, that the Indians were as naturally one nation as the colonists or seventeen fires (states) were one nation. They had a right to come together and form a confederacy precisely as the whites had formed a confederacy and that the governor (Harrison) had no more right to suspect the purpose of the Indian confederacy than the Indian had to mistrust the colonial confederacy. It was a powerful, politic and patriotic appeal with all the grace and force with which the speaker was so rarely endowed. The Wyandot, Kickapoo, Potawattamie, Ottawa and Winnebago chiefs grunted their approval and followed in brief speeches, saying that they had joined Tecumseh's confederacy; had made him their common leader and would stand by him. Governor Harrison made reply that Tecumseh's charges of bad faith against the government and that injustice had been done the Indians were unfounded. Instead the United States was their friend, while all other countries had been their enemies; that the land was not the common property of all tribes, but only the separable property of different tribes in possession of particular parts, and he candidly and firmly told the chief that the President would insist upon the separate tribal allotments of the land and that the division would be supported, if necessary, by the sword. But he added that he (Harrison) would report Tecumseh's views to the President and do what he could to prevent a clash. "Well," said Tecumseh, "as the Great Chief, (President) is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to direct you to give up this land to us. It is true that he is so far off that he will not be injured by the war; he may sit in his town (Washington) and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out." The council became a discussion, acrimonious and even hostile in its bitterness, the Indians seizing their weapons and the governor's soldiers raising their guns. At some declaration of Governor Harrison, Tecumseh audaciously instructed Joseph Barron, the interpreter, to "tell him he lies." That was the end of the council. Tecumseh was compelled to return the next day and apologize for his rudeness. This Vincennes council continued for several days (August 12-22), during which many "talks" were

held. In one of his speeches Tecumseh uttered the following, one of the most concise and logical statements of his cause, to be found in any of his addresses, while it has also the flavor of the loftiest sentiment: "I have made myself what I am, and I would that I could make the red people as great as the conceptions of my mind, when I think of the Great Spirit that rules over all. I would not then come to see Governor Harrison to ask him to tear the treaty, but I would say to him, Brother, you have liberty to return to your own country. Once there were no white men in all this country; then it belonged to the red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit, to keep it, to travel over it, to eat its fruits, and fill it with the same race — once a happy race, but now made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. They have driven us from the great salt water, forced us over the mountains, and would shortly push us into the lakes — but we are determined to go no farther. The only way to stop this evil is for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be now — for it never was divided, but belongs to all. No tribe has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers, who demand all and will take no less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians, who had it first; it is theirs. They may sell it, but all must join. Any sale not made by all is not good. The late sale is bad — it was made by a part only. Part do not know how to sell. It requires all to make a bargain for all."

It was evident the council had not made for peace and harmony. The governor, however, made one final request of Tecumseh; that in case they came to war, the chief would put a stop to the cruel and disgraceful mode of warfare which the Indians were accustomed to wage against defenseless women and children. This Tecumseh readily agreed to and his promise was sacredly kept. The Vincennes council so spectacular in its incidents and so significant in its proceedings closed with the firm belief both by the Governor and the chief that war was inevitable. Tidings reached Harrison from sections of the West and South that the Indians were preparing for the war-path. The Indian forces continued to increase at the Prophet's Town on the Tippecanoe.

TECUMSEH'S TOUR EAST AND WEST.

Tecumseh on leaving the Vincennes meeting started at once upon an extended pilgrimage to the tribes East and West. He went to the Iroquois on the lakes of the East, saw the Wyandots and other Ohio tribes; and then returning through the Indiana and Illinois country visited the tribes of the Northwest on Lakes Hu-



WM. H. HARRISON.

ron, Michigan and Superior.

One of the notable events of this trip was his experience with the Menomonees, a small and peaceable tribe, located on Green Bay. Tomah was their chief, who held great sway over his own and neighboring tribes. At the arrival of Tecumseh, Tomah called a council of his people. In the course of Tecumseh's speech he pictured the glory as well as the certainty of success and as a presage of this related to them his (Tecumseh's) own hitherto prosperous career —

the number of battles he had fought, the victories he had won, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken from the heads of his warrior foes. Tomah appreciated the influence of such an address upon his people and feared its consequences, for he was opposed to leading them into any war. His reply was in a tone to allay this feeling and he closed with a remark to them that he had heard the words of Tecumseh — heard of the battles he had fought, the enemies he had slain and the scalps he had taken. He then paused, and while the deepest silence reigned throughout the audience, he slowly raised his hands, with his eyes fixed on them, and in a lower, but not less proud tone, continued, "but it

is my boast that these hands are unstained with human blood." ⁶⁶ The effect is described by an eye-witness as being "tremendous." The result of Tecumseh's speech was nullified. Tomah, however, resumed by saying he was aware of the injustice of the Americans in their encroachments upon the lands of the Indians and while he would not take up the war club, his young men might do so and follow Tecumseh if they desired.

On some of these tours of agitation among the Western nations, the Prophet accompanied Tecumseh, coupling his religious harangues and mystic ceremonies with the political exhortations of his warrior brother. During Tecumseh's sojourn among a band of Shawnees on the upper lakes, a messenger overtook him bearing a letter of admonition from Vincennes. Tecumseh seized the letter and, throwing it into the fire, said: "If Governor Harrison were here I would serve him in the same way," adding, "my cause will not die, when I am dead." He had reached the exalted state of consecrated devotion to his cause. He was kindling the fire of hate and resistance to the whites in every Indian village. In the early summer of 1811, Governor Harrison wrote the Secretary of War, concerning Tecumseh and his movement: "There can be no doubt of his intention to excite the southern Indians to war against us. The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay him are really astonishing and more than any other circumstance bespeak him one of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the existing order of things. If it were not for the vicinity of the United States, he would be the founder of an empire that would rival in glory Mexico or Peru. For years he has been in constant motion. You see him to-day on the Wabash and in a short time hear of him on the shores of Lake Michigan or the banks of the Mississippi, and wherever he goes, he makes an impression favorable to his purpose. He is now upon the last round to put a finishing touch to his work."

⁶⁶ Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. 1, p. 53.

SECOND SOUTHERN JOURNEY.

This "last round" was a lengthy trip to the South, begun in August (1811) and lasting some six months. He traversed Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, and the Carolinas, holding councils, addressing assemblies of the Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, Choctaws, Osages, Chickasaws and other tribes. His experiences on this remarkable mission would fill a volume; recitals of his tireless labors, his wonderful endurance, his rapidity of movement, his tact and courage under adverse conditions and his limitless powers of oratory and persuasive diplomacy. He was accompanied by a band of some thirty warrior adherents, among them several distinguished chiefs of other tribes. The party was mounted on spirited black ponies. The warriors all wore buck-skin shirts, leggings, breach clouts and moccasins. Both sides of their heads were closely shaven, there being left only a narrow ridge extending from the middle of the forehead over the pate down to the nape of the neck. The hair of this ridge was plaited in long cue of three plaits, hanging down between the shoulders and the end of the cue was garnished with hawk feathers, which dangled down the back. Across the forehead of each extended around the head, was a band of red flannel about three inches wide. Semi-circular streaks of red war-paint were drawn under each eye, terminating outward on the cheek bone. A small red spot was painted on each temple and a large round red spot on the center of the breast.⁶⁷ As the party proceeded on its way, messengers would be sent ahead to announce the approach of the war embassy. A council would be called for and the notified village would send out runners to gather in the tribesmen to meet and hear the great Tecumseh. The council would convene at the appointed date. Tecumseh would present his plea which would be delivered in Shawnee and be translated to the tribe by interpreter. His address to the Choctaws, on Jim creek, in the present county of Noxubee, Mississippi, is representative of his rhetorical repertoire. We give the summary as reported by an eye-witness from the Draper

⁶⁷ Draper manuscript.

manuscripts: The white people were a bad people and the Indians ought not to live at peace with them. Ever since the white people had crossed the great waters, they had not ceased to inflict wrongs and outrages upon the Indians. The hunting grounds of the Redmen were fast disappearing under their advance. Year after year they were driving the Redmen farther and farther west. The mere presence of the whiteman was a source of evil to the Indian. His whiskey was destroying the bravery of the Indian warrior, and his lust corrupting the virtue of the Indian women. The only hope for the Redman was a war of extermination against the pale face. The tribes of the north were getting ready to take up the hatchet. The pale face must be destroyed. Would not the Choctaws and the other southern tribes unite with the warriors of the lakes? The great nation (England) across the water would soon come to their help. Let all unite and stand firm, let all get ready to strike the fatal blow, and the pale face must go down to swift destruction. But if from any motives of policy the leaders of the Choctaws could not openly unite with the other tribes in this war, could they not secretly and without the knowledge of the whites let him have all the warriors they could spare? Would they not let him have many young braves and not let this become known to the whites. If they could at least do this he would be partially satisfied.

The Choctaws at this time were friendly to the whites. Pushmatahas, chief of the Choctaws, arose and replied to Tecumseh, saying: "The Choctaws have never shed the blood of white men in war, and they do not intend to begin now. The white people are my friends. I cannot and will not fight them without cause, and I have no cause; and if any of my people join you in your war, Tecumseh, and they do not get killed in battle, I will have them killed when they return home." Tecumseh was greatly disconcerted at this rebuff. He abruptly left the council; as he was passing out he muttered a bitter imprecation on the Choctaws—"they were cowards and had the hearts of women."

After his stay in Florida among the Seminoles, with whom he seemed to meet with success, he visited the Creeks in Alabama. He felt he would have special influence over the Creeks, as they were the tribe of his mother and would give him a sympathetic

hearing. About one-half the Creeks accepted his war ideas and some followed to the Ohio country. In one instance, however, he met with no friendly response. At a Creek town called Tuckhabatchee, on the Tallapoosa river, he entered the lodge of the chief known as Big Warrior. Tecumseh gave him "war talk," presented the chief with a bundle of sticks, a hatchet and a piece of wampum. Big Warrior received all in stolid indifference, whereupon Tecumseh, comprehending the situation, looked Big Warrior in the eye and pointing his finger disdainfully at him exclaimed: "Your blood is white; you have taken my sticks and wampum and hatchet, but you do not mean to fight; I know the reason, you do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me; I leave here directly and shall go straight to Detroit; when I arrive there I shall stamp my foot on the ground, and shake down every house in Tuckhabatchee." It made a great impression upon Big Warrior and those present. They anxiously counted the days until that one came when Tecumseh was due at Detroit. The strange prediction was fulfilled, a mighty rumbling was heard, the houses in Tuckhabatchee were shaken, some to the ground. The effect was electrical. "Tecumseh has got to Detroit," was the cry. The shaking, curiously happening about the time Tecumseh was due to reach Detroit, was the famous earthquake of New Madrid, on the Mississippi.⁶⁸

It is thus seen that the warrior orator, in this remarkable campaign as the apostle of war against the white man, was not without opposition; his right there were many to dispute. His southern mission was partially successful. He addressed thousands of the various tribesmen; he stirred them with the fire of his sentiments and the splendor and vehemence of his oratory and his fame made him foremost of all his race from the St. Lawrence to the Mexican gulf; from the Atlantic to the "Father of Waters" and far beyond. In this tour he carried with him bundles of "red sticks," the symbols of war, and in many instances he would leave with the tribe or band, which he visited, a bundle

⁶⁸ The anecdote of the Prophecy of Tecumseh and its singular fulfillment is vouched for by authentic relators to Drake, who received the story from many Indians resident at the time in Tuckhabatchee.

containing the number of sticks equal to the days before the date for the universal assault on the whites. It was the savage calendar; the recipient Indians were to throw away a stick each day and when the last was reached the day of vengeance and massacre had come. Those who accepted the "red sticks" were called the "Red stick party," the others the peace party, and in many localities the dissension between the two parties was bitter and relentless.

BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

Meanwhile events of a direful moment were transpiring in the Indiana country. On his departure for the south, Tecumseh had in the most emphatic manner charged his brother, The Prophet, to be most careful in the preservation of peace with the whites during his absence. No hostile movements were to be made until the confederacy of northern and southern tribes had been accomplished and the hour was ripe for the universal uprising.

But best laid schemes o' mice and men,
Gang aft a-gley.

So it may be with the forest savage. The pilgrimage of Tecumseh and its hostile purpose was known to Governor Harrison and the settlers in the Indiana Territory.⁶⁹ The Prophet, "more rogue than fool," after his brother's departure, became more bold and demonstrative in his warlike activity. Moreover, the British agent of Indian affairs in Canada, hoping and believing a war between the British government and the United States to be inevitable, began, with unusual vigor, to stir up discontent with the United States government among the Northwestern Indians. Governor Harrison did not propose to be taken unawares. He reported the situation to the government at Washington and asked for a regiment of Regulars. President Madison placed ⁷⁰ the Fourth Regiment of mounted infantry, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, at the disposal of Governor Harrison. He also received a number of volunteers from Kentucky. Governors

⁶⁹ Indiana as a state was not admitted into the Union until December 11, 1816.

⁷⁰ July 11, 1811.

Howard of Missouri and Edwards of Illinois proffered co-operative assistance, if needed. In the last days of September, Harrison in command of his military expedition left Vincennes and after a few days' march encamped on the Wabash, two miles north of the present site of Terre Haute, where a fort was erected and named after the gallant commander, Harrison.⁷¹

Some peace conferences with the Prophet were proposed, but to no effect. He was bent on battle, believing he would destroy the enemy and become the hero of his people as he was already their prophet. Harrison continued his advance on Tippecanoe. His force numbered about nine hundred men.⁷² On the afternoon of November 6, General Harrison arrived within a mile of the Prophet's Town, where on Burnett creek the army proceeded to encamp. The Prophet, with characteristic duplicity, sent a deputation to the governor to say he was for peace and the next day would meet him (Harrison) and arrange a treaty. The night was dark and cloudy, the moon rose late and a drizzling rain fell. The men slept, or rather lay on their arms, ready for instant action. The attack came before daybreak when the Indians, who had stealthily approached under cover of the darkness, suddenly sprang forth from the forests north and south of the camp and the high grassed swamp to the east. The Indian warriors numbered about one thousand, representing many tribes, including the Shawnees, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Pottawattamies, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Sacs and Miamis. They were led by their chiefs, White-loon, Stone-eater and Winnemac.⁷³

The Prophet, in virtue of his sacred office and perhaps, as has been suggested, unwilling to test at once "the rival powers of his sham prophecy and the real American bullet," did not take part in the battle, but stationed himself on a small hill near at

⁷¹ Fort Harrison was located on the site of Bataille des Illinois: — Illinois Battle — being according to Indian traditions the scene of a great battle in earlier times between the Illinois and Iroquois tribes.

⁷² Six hundred Indiana Territory volunteers, sixty Kentucky volunteers, and two hundred and fifty U. S. regulars.

⁷³ White-loon was a Miami; Winnemac, a Pottawattamie, these two had signed the Greenville Treaty. Stone-eater was a Pottawattamie. Stone-eater and White-loon are by some authors classed as Winnebagoes.

hand, where he chanted a war song and presided like an evil genius, as the Indians soon had reason to think, over the battle in the darkness. He had prophesied that the American bullets would rebound harmless from the bodies of the Indians and that the Indians would have plenty of light, while all around would be thick darkness to the pale faces. Never were savages known to battle more desperately. The infatuated and deluded Indians abandoned their practice of fighting stealthily and from behind shelter. Under the influence of the fierce fanaticism in which they had been steeped, they braved the soldiers in open battle, rushing recklessly upon their bayonets. The conflict lasted until shortly after daybreak when, with a last charge, the troops put the Indians to flight. During the engagement General Harrison fearlessly rode from one side of the camp to the other directing the disposal of the troops and rousing them to unusual bravery and steadiness. The American loss was sixty killed and one hundred and thirty wounded. The Indian loss was never known, for in this instance, as was their usual custom in battle, they succeeded in carrying off and concealing their dead. It is believed their relative loss in this encounter was greater than in any of the Indian battles. It was the Waterloo of the forest warriors. The Prophet's influence was destroyed past all recovery. His divine power was forever discredited; the Prophet's Town abandoned; the warriors scattered to their various tribes. Harrison returned to Vincennes with a military renown, soon to be augmented to such an extent that the presidency was his ultimate reward.

TECUMSEH RETURNS FROM THE SOUTH.

Tecumseh returned from his southern journey by way of Missouri, where he rallied the Indians on the Des Moines; whence he crossed to the headwaters of the Illinois and thence hurried on to the Wabash and to Tippecanoe,⁷⁴ Imagine his consternation when learning of the rout of his brother the Prophet, the aban-

⁷⁴ Much discrepancy prevails among the authorities as to the time of Tecumseh's return. Some claim it was immediately after the battle, "before the smoke was cleared." It is probable that his return was some weeks after the Tippecanoe defeat, possibly not till the beginning of the year 1812.

donment of the Shawnee capital, the death blow to his project and wreckage of his hopes. When he first met the Prophet he reproached him with great severity for disregarding his command to refrain from any outbreak until his return. The Prophet tried to justify himself, but the enraged Tecumseh took him by the hair and shook him like a dog, threatening even to kill him. Tecumseh's confederacy, the plan and work of years, of untold perils and difficulties, seemed crushed at the first blow, burst like a bubble in one short hour's conflict in that early morning onslaught at Tippecanoe. But hope springs eternal in the human breast. Likewise in the bosom of the dauntless savage. His warlike schemes scattered like leaves before the winter's blast, the iron was in his soul, but the spark of hope was not extinguished. He would go to Washington and plead with the Great Father of the pale-face conquerors for justice to his red race. He so notified Governor Harrison. The governor replied granting him permission for a conference with the president, but the chief must go unattended except by a small escort. The crest-fallen chieftain declined to go like a humiliated suppliant, shorn of all semblance of power and dignity, and diplomatic relations were peremptorily put at an end.

In May (1812) there was a grand council held at Mississinaway, attended by twelve tribes of the Indians to consider certain disturbances that had recently occurred between the tribesmen and Indians. Tecumseh was present and the most frequent speaker, protesting that he was now for peace, but his speeches protested too much. He could not have been ingenious, he was only biding his time under the guise of submission. He must have seen the war clouds in the sky. He was impatiently waiting for them to burst. He had not long to wait.

OPENING OF WAR OF 1812.

In June (18) a new aspect was given to the affairs of the west by the declaration of war made by the United States against Great Britain. It is related⁷⁵ that Tecumseh heard the news of this impending war while in his lodge on the Wabash. William Hull, governor of Michigan Territory and general of

⁷⁵ Draper manuscript.

the American army of the Northwest, with headquarters at Detroit, issued a proclamation to the effect that this was a white man's war and asking the Indians to remain neutral. He also sent a deputation of friendly Wyandot Indians from Michigan to hold a council of peace with Tecumseh and his chiefs of the league. Chief Isadore spoke for the peace Indians, advising neutrality and assuring them that the Americans would protect the friendly Indians and tribes. Tecumseh replied: "I have heard of this protection you speak of—before you left your home to come here, and I don't believe a word of it; and as to Hull advising us to remain neutral during this war between the Big Knives and the British, that is all empty talk. Neutral indeed? And who will protect you whilst the Big Knives are fighting the British, away off from you, from the attack of your ancient enemies, the western tribes, who may become allies of the British. The neutrality will as shortly end as you see (pointing with his pipe-tomahawk) that smoke passing out through the hole in this wigwam — end is nothing. And what are we to gain by remaining neutral, or if we are all to take sides with the Big Knives? Would our rights to the soil of our fathers be respected, or will our hunting grounds that have wrongfully been taken from us be restored to us after the war? No! As well might you think of recalling some of the years that have tolled over your heads as to think of getting back any of your lands that have passed into the hands of the white man."⁷⁶

Tecumseh then took the pipe of peace offered by the Wyandot chief Isadore, broke the stem and dashed it to the ground. He proceeded at once to Detroit stopping at Fort Wayne, which he had often before visited. He was invited by the government clerk to dinner. Tecumseh respectfully declined, saying, "I am the enemy of the white man—I will not eat with you."⁷⁷

From Detroit Tecumseh passed over to Malden, Canada, and joined the British forces under Major General Sir Isaac Brock, military commander of the Upper Canada. Again Tecumseh was invited to attend a conference of neutral Indians at Brownstown,

⁷⁶ Draper manuscript.

⁷⁷ Draper manuscript. This government clerk was a Mr. Johnston, relative of John Johnston, government Indian agent at Piqua.

opposite Malden. To the messenger he replied, indignantly: "No, I have taken sides with the King, my father, and I will suffer my bones to bleach upon this shore before I will cross that stream to join any council of neutrality."

General Hull occupied Detroit but with a portion of his army crossed to the Canadian side for an invasion of the enemy's country when an express notified him that a company of Ohio volunteers, under Captain Henry Brush, with provisions for the American army, were near the River Raisin,⁷⁸ and should be reinforced and protected by an escort, as it was understood that some British soldiers and a confederate band of Indians, all under command of Tecumseh, had crossed the Detroit river from Malden to Brownstown, with the intention of intercepting the provision train under Captain Brush. Hull directed Major Van Horne with a detachment of two hundred riflemen of the Ohio volunteers to proceed from Detroit, join Captain Brush and escort him safely to the American garrison.⁷⁹ Major Van Horne, when within about three miles of Brownstown, was surprised (August 5) by Tecumseh and a small force of warriors who were concealed in the thick woods, through which ran the road traversed by the soldiers of Van Horne. The American soldiers were panic-stricken and fled precipitously with a loss of eighteen killed, thirteen wounded and seventy missing. It was the first battle of the War of 1812 and the bloodshed was by the braves of the Indian confederacy under the Shawnee chief.⁸⁰

How the heart of the burdened chief must have leaped with animated hope; at last the tide of fortune seemed to have turned in his behalf and the Great Spirit to have promised victory to the long deserted cause of the Redman. Vain hope and short-lived joy! The Brownstown encounter that so inauspiciously opened the war for the Americans was quickly followed by the engagement at Maguaga, fourteen miles from Detroit. To retrieve the discomfiture of Van Horne another American detach-

⁷⁸ Thirty-six miles below Detroit. Brush was coming from Ohio.

⁷⁹ At Detroit.

⁸⁰ The loss sustained by Tecumseh was one man killed, a young chief and interpreter named Logan.

ment of six hundred men⁸¹ was sent under Colonel Miller to open communication with Captain Brush. At the village of Maguaga the Americans were met by a force of four hundred British, commanded by Major Muir, and five hundred Indians led by Tecumseh, Marpot and Walk-in-the-Water. The savages were almost entirely naked and fought like demons, springing from behind a breastwork of felled trees. Although inferior in numbers the Americans gallantly charged and put the white and red foe to flight. Both Major Muir and Tecumseh were wounded. Colonel Miller would have pushed to the River Raisin to the rescue of Captain Brush, but was pre-emptorily ordered to return to Detroit by General Hull, who was already giving evidences of his incapacity and disloyalty. Meanwhile General Hull had abruptly abandoned the invasion of Canada and had returned with his forces across the river to Detroit, followed by General Brock and a portion of the British army.

SURRENDER OF DETROIT.

Colonels Duncan McArthur and Lewis Cass wished to follow up the advantage gained by Colonel Miller, but were forbidden by General Hull, who ordered the whole force to retreat to Fort Detroit, where, amid the consternation and indignation of the American officers and men, Hull raised the white flag and surrendered (August 16) the fort and the whole Michigan territory to General Brock and the British arms. Two thousand American soldiers were in the articles of capitulation pronounced prisoners of war! The treachery of Hull was complete. The whole northwestern frontier of Ohio was laid open to savage incursion.⁸² General Brock stated he feared he could not restrain the ferocious propensities of his Indian allies and the American prisoners of war were dismissed in different directions, the Ohio volunteers being landed at Cleveland.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF TECUMSEH.

Tecumseh was a jubilant witness of the inglorious, infamous capitulation of Hull. With an expression of lofty and super-

⁸¹ U. S. Regulars and Ohio and Michigan volunteers.

⁸² Captain Brush, hearing of Hull's surrender, retired to Ohio.

cilious disdain, he gazed upon the humiliated soldiers of Hull as they stacked arms in surrender. William Hatch, who was an officer in Hull's command and with him at the surrender and who saw Tecumseh at the time, says:⁸³ "The personal appearance of this remarkable man was uncommonly fine. His height was about five feet nine inches; his face oval rather than angular: his nose handsome and straight; his mouth beautifully formed, like that of Napoleon; his eyes clear, transparent hazel, with a mild, pleasant expression when in repose or in conversation; but when excited in his orations or by the enthusiasm of conflict, or when angry, they appeared like balls of fire; his teeth beautifully white and his complexion more of a light brown or tan than red; his limbs straight; he always stood very erect and walked with a brisk, elastic, vigorous step; invariably dressed in Indian tanned buckskin; a perfectly well fitting hunting frock, descending to the knee, was over his underclothes of the same material; the usual cape and finish of leather fringe about the neck; cape, edges of the front opening, and bottom of the frock, a belt of the same material in which were his side arms, an elegant silver-mounted tomahawk and a knife in a strong leather case; short pantaloons, connected with neatly-fitting leggins and moccasins, with a mantle of the same material thrown over his left shoulder, used as a blanket in camp and a protection in storms. He was then in the prime of life, and presented in his appearance and noble bearing one of the finest looking men I have ever seen."

At the time of the Detroit evacuation Tecumseh was commander of all the Indian allies. General Brock, on receiving the American soldiers from Hull, requested the chief not to allow his savage warriors to ill-treat the prisoners, to which the proud and powerful savage replied: "No! I despise them too much to meddle with them." That he was the mainstay of the British commander is evident from the anecdote that previous to Brock's crossing the Detroit river onto the American side he asked the chief what the lay of the land was into which he was going. Tecumseh, taking a roll of elm bark and stretching it out on the

⁸³ A Chapter in the War of 1812.

ground by means of four stones, drew forth his scalping knife and with the point etched upon the bark a plan of the country, its hills, rivers, woods, morasses and roads.⁸⁴ Brock as a recognition of such military talent publicly took off his sash and placed it round the body of the chief. The latter received the honor with evident gratification; but was next day seen without his sash; asked by Brock for an explanation of its disappearance, Tecumseh replied that not wishing to wear such a mark of distinction, when an older and abler warrior than himself was present, he had transferred the sash to the veteran warrior and Wyandot chief, Roundhead.

EVENTS AFTER SURRENDER OF DETROIT.

The collapse of the Hull campaign touched the torch to the Indian hostile activity in various parts of the Northwest. The garrison at Chicago⁸⁵ was attacked and destroyed and about one hundred men, women and children were massacred. Attacks were made on Fort Harrison and other interior points. The Indians of the whole northwest seemed ready for an uprising and Tecumseh's confederacy bid fair to become a terrible reality. Hundreds flocked to his standard and he is said to have had at his command, soon after Brock's occupancy of Detroit, between three and four thousand Indian warriors. The whites of the west were aroused to instant action. Volunteers in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and the west sprang forth and "an army was ready as if by magic to retrieve the fortune of arms." A leader was needed and all eyes looked with a common impulse to the "hero of Tippecanoe." William Henry Harrison was brevetted a major general,⁸⁶ with directions to take charge of the northwest army. General Harrison arrived at Urbana, (September 4), and assumed the direction of affairs. The Rapids of the Maumee, memorable scene of the Indian defeat under Wayne, a location whose name was the talisman of victory, was fixed as the point of concentration. While Tecumseh was traversing the Indiana and Illinois country, gathering in his Indian recruits

⁸⁴ Drake.

⁸⁵ Fort Dearborn.

⁸⁶ September 17, 1812.

from the northwest, and while General Henry A. Proctor⁸⁷ was mobilizing the British forces in Canada, General Harrison was organizing the American army and on February 2, 1813, began the erection of a large fort on the high banks of the south side of the Maumee at the foot of the Rapids, nearly opposite but a little above the site of Fort Miami. Fort Meigs was an earthen breastwork enclosure, with eight block-houses, picketed with timber and surrounded by ditches; it was two thousand five hundred yards in circumference and required two thousand soldiers to properly garrison it. This stronghold was named Fort Meigs after the patriotic governor of Ohio. At nearly the same time a detachment of Harrison's forces built a blockhouse on the banks of the Sandusky upon the site now occupied by Fremont; the blockhouse was subsequently strengthened and called Fort Stephenson. It was at that time the northern outpost of the American military base. We do not pretend to follow the details of this war (1812) in the northwest except as the incidents therein include the participation of Tecumseh, whose fortunes alone we summarily follow.⁸⁸

SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS.

Fort Meigs being the citadel and center of the American western forces, it was naturally the first point of attack by the enemy. In the latter part of April, General Proctor and Chief Tecumseh arrived by transports from Amherstberg, at the mouth of the Maumee, with a contingent of about eight hundred Canadian militia, six hundred regulars and some fifteen hundred Indians under the Shawnee chief. They proceeded up the north bank of the river nearly opposite Fort Meigs, where they constructed earthworks from which their batteries could play upon the American fort. General Harrison had only about six hundred troops to defend his position, but was awaiting the arrival of General

⁸⁷ General Brock was killed at the Battle of Queenstown, October 12, 1812, and Proctor succeeded him as general of the British forces in lower Canada.

⁸⁸ Though sometimes so stated, Tecumseh was not with the Indians at the River Raisin Massacre, (Monroe, Mich.), January, 1813. He was at that time in the Illinois country urging the various tribes to join his forces.

Green Clay, who was on his way from the south with fifteen hundred Kentucky volunteers. The siege began. Proctor stationed a force of Indians and soldiers across the river and in the rear of Fort Meigs, which was thus between two fires. When the reinforcements of Clay approached from the south, he was ordered to detach Colonel Dudley with eight hundred men, and send him across to the north side of the river, that he might there attack the British batteries and main army under Proctor and Tecumseh, while the remaining seven hundred of Clay's force assaulted the Indians and British that were besieging the south side of the American garrison. Colonel Dudley gallantly advanced to execute his orders; he stormed and took the British batteries; the Indians, under the direction of Tecumseh, had, however, formed an ambuscade, the batteries were retaken and in the flight of Dudley's soldiers six hundred of them, including Dudley himself, were mercilessly slain and scalped by the savages.⁸⁹ It was one of the most awful slaughters in American warfare. While this disastrous event was in progress, Colonel Miller at the head of a hundred and fifty regular troops made a sortie from the fort (Meigs) and boldly engaged the three hundred and fifty British soldiers and the five hundred Indians that were assaulting the fort from the south. It was a terrific encounter. Tecumseh was in personal command of the Indians, who fought with fiendish ferocity. Colonel Miller held his foe in check for a while, but was finally compelled to return to the fort, leaving many dead and wounded on the field. The siege, which continued some two weeks, was finally abandoned by Proctor, his Indians beginning to desert him and the Canadian militia becoming discouraged and rebellious. It was one of the most memorable military events in American history. Tecumseh entered the siege with reluctance, advising Proctor that it was ill-timed and doubtful of success. Proctor reassured the chief and his followers by promising that if the outcome was successful, the Prophet, who fought with the Shawnees in this campaign, should have as compensation the Territory of Michigan and Tecumseh was to have Governor Harrison delivered into his hands to do with him as he

⁸⁹ The remaining two hundred succeeded in escaping to Fort Meigs.

pleased. Tecumseh had an inveterate hatred of Harrison because of the latter's victory at Tippecanoe, which shattered the scheme of the Shawnee confederacy. His feeling toward General Harrison was illustrated during the Fort Meigs siege by his sending him the following challenge, while attacking the south side of the fort: "General Harrison: I have with me eight hundred braves. You have an equal number in your hiding place. Come out with them and give us battle. You talked like a brave man when we met at Vincennes; but now you hide behind logs and in the earth, like a groundhog. Give us answer. Tecumseh."

Tecumseh's generalship and gallantry in the Fort Meigs siege were fully equalled by the nobility and humanity of his conduct. The chief during his encounter with Colonel Miller heard of the Dudley advance upon the British batteries, and immediately with some of his band withdrew from the field and swam⁹⁰ the river and fell with his followers with great fury upon the rear of Dudley's forces, thus assisting in the latter's defeat. Upon the capture of Dudley's men, the massacre, above noted, began, the Indians deliberately in cold blood, tomahawking the defenseless prisoners. Proctor, a witness to the cruel infamy, made no attempt to protect the helpless captives. A British officer who was a spectator relates: "While this blood-thirsty carnage was raging, a thundering voice was heard in the rear, in Indian tongue, and Tecumseh was seen coming with all the rapidity his horse would carry him, until he drew near to where two Indians were in the act of killing an American soldier. He sprang from his horse, caught one by the throat and the other by the breast and threw them to the ground; drawing his tomahawk and scalping knife, brandishing them with a fearful fury, he dashed between the Indians and Americans and dared any one of the hundreds surrounding him, to attempt to murder another prisoner. The tribesmen were instantly cowed into submission. "His mind appeared rent with passion, and he exclaimed almost with tears in his eye, 'Oh! what will become of my Indians.' He then demanded in an authoritative tone, where Proctor was; and casting his eye upon the British miscreant who stood close by, he

⁹⁰ This is related by Drake who quotes from an eye witness.

asked why the general had not stopped the inhuman massacre. 'Sir,' said Proctor, 'your Indians cannot be commanded.' 'Be-gone,' retorted Tecumseh, with the greatest disdain, 'you are unfit to command; go and put on petticoats.' "

The result of the siege of Fort Meigs depressed the chief, while the revealed incompetence and dishonor of Proctor disgusted and alarmed him. Proctor, in order to retain the allegiance and assistance of Tecumseh, rewarded him for his services thus far, by securing for him the commission and pay of a brigadier-general in the British army. The entire British force returned by water to Malden, where Proctor and Tecumseh reinforced their commands and in the last few days of July returned for another attempts at the capture of Fort Meigs, then occupied by General Clay. The united force of the enemy numbered five thousand, Tecumseh having three thousand warriors in his command, probably the largest Indian army ever under the direction of a chief. The fort was practically surrounded and Tecumseh exhausted all the Indian tactics of deception to induce General Clay to emerge, give battle and be ambuscaded as planned. The Americans were not deceived; they persistently "held the fort," and after numerous unavailing maneuvers, covering many days, the besiegers withdrew and proceeded to encompass the stockade defense called Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky.

SIEGE OF FORT STEPHENSON.

Proctor and his soldiers reached the fort by boats from the Maumee, while Tecumseh and his multitude of warriors marched across the country. Fort Stephenson was a stockade enclosed on a slight elevation, containing within its wooden embattlements only an acre of ground, one mounted gun, known to history as "Old Betsy" and one hundred and sixty militia. But this meagre defense was under the command of Lieutenant George Croghan, the bravest of the brave. He was a Kentucky lad, but twenty-two years of age and was the personification of dauntless courage and unswerving coolness. He had fought at Tippecanoe. He gloried in war and defied every obstacle. Realizing Croghan's danger and apparent certainty of defeat and destruction in the

face of such overwhelming foes, General Harrison by messenger ordered the doughty lieutenant to abandon the fort and seek safety. Croghan refused to obey his superior's order and replied: "We have determined to maintain this place and by heavens we can." The siege was impetuous and explosive. The British regulars were those who had fought under Wellington in the Peninsular campaign and had driven back the cohorts of Napoleon and the fearless savages were thirsting for the blood of the little band behind the wooden pickets. A volley, a dash, a victorious yell and all would be over. The log parapets were cloven from the unbending giants of the forest; they had withstood the storms and blasts of perhaps centuries; like the stone medieval embattlements of some arrow showered castle, the wooden walls of this stockade bent not nor did they tremble at the bullets of the foe, that poured like hail from countless rifles; while in this forest Gibraltar were heroes of American independence and weather-worn frontier hardihood; their heads as cool as the morning air, their sinewy muscles as supple but sure as the steel blades which they wielded, their muskets as unerring and devastating as the lightning's stroke; again and again the enemy rushed into the moat and beat upon the stockade pickets. Death alone was their reward. "Old Betsy" was dexterously shifted from side to side, and port-hole to port-hole, till there seemed a fort full of blazing cannon, belching fire and shot and slugs that swept the charging enemy like a devouring demon. Two thousand British soldiers and two thousand Indian warriors were held at bay and then repulsed by one hundred and sixty American frontier militiamen. Does the history of any nation, any race, offer a greater example of courageous, patriotic intrepidity? If so, we have failed to find it. Proctor and Tecumseh were compelled to retreat and retire once more to their base at Malden and now the theater of war and its scenes shifts to Canada.

THE CAMPAIGN IN CANADA.

Tecumseh's prophetic vision discerned the handwriting on the wall. Again the star of his destiny was to be eclipsed. He realized the hopelessness of his cause. His alliance with the Brit-

ish ceased to give promise of victory. Proctor was a dastard and a dolt. The British soldiers, veteran regiments in his Majesty's service, were no match for the "long knives."

Tecumseh assembled the Shawnees, Wyandots and Ottawas under his command and confessed his discomfiture and desire to withdraw from the contest. The British promises were like weak reeds before the wind. "We are treated by them (British) like dogs of snipe hunters; we are always sent ahead to start the game; it is better that we should retreat to our country and let the Americans come on and fight the British." His immediate followers approved, but the Sioux and Chippewas insisted that as he had persuaded them and others into this war, he ought not to leave them. His honor was touched and he yielded. Perry's sweeping victory on Lake Erie destroyed the British expectations on the inland waters. Proctor informed Tecumseh that he had decided to retire upon the Thames and there be reinforced and again assume the offensive. Tecumseh could not be deceived. He knew it was the beginning of the end. The Shawnee chieftain through the display of his military talents, his incomparable and sagacious bravery on the field and his personal magnetism and powers of leadership, had now become easily the ruling spirit in the British campaign. He was foremost in the councils of the officers and the confidence of the men both red and white. He assembled⁹¹ all the Indians under his command, that he might address them, insisting that Proctor also be present. It was the eloquent outburst of a broken heart; the final plea of a martyr resigned to his impending fate. Appealing to Proctor as the representative of the king, he said: "Father, listen to your children, you have them all now before you. The war before this⁹² our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our old chiefs were alive. They are now dead. In that war our father was thrown on his back by the Americans; and our father (England) took them by hand (made peace) without our knowledge; and we are afraid that our father will do so again at this time." He then related the Indian troubles after the Revo-

⁹¹ In a storehouse at Amherstburg, September 18, 1813.

⁹² American Revolution.

lution and the constant promises that England would protect the Indians from the American encroachment; that in this war (1812) the British had boasted they could easily defeat the Americans and would see that the Indians got back the lands of which they had been despoiled. It was not turning out so. The British were not equal to their promises. "Father, listen! Our fleet has gone out; we know they have fought; we have heard the great guns; but we know nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm."⁹³ You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands; it made us glad to hear that was your wish. You have always told us that you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back (retreating) and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our parties condition to a fat dog, that carries its tail on its back, but when frightened, drops it between its legs and runs off." This pathetic plaint, the last public utterance of the heroic orator, fell upon sterile soil. Proctor, coward that he was, sought only his personal safety and cared naught for the cause of his country.

Tecumseh most urgently advised Proctor to mass his forces at Amherstburg, take the offensive and boldly strike into the country of the enemy below the Maumee. It was fearless and strategic advice and its adoption would have prolonged the war, but Proctor was totally incompetent for such plans.

Tecumseh's hatred for the white man now extended beyond the American nation; it embraced the British and the entire white race of whatever nationality. The pusillanimous Proctor made excuses; and again pledged himself to the Indians, that if they would remain steadfast and accompany him to the Thames, he would supply them with every abundance for their needs and a fort for their reception and protection. Tecumseh reluctantly assented, remarking to Jim Blue Jacket, a subordinate chief, when about to start, "We are now going to follow the British, and I feel well assured, that we shall never return." Prophetic words. The retreat continued, Tecumseh protesting and at several favor-

⁹³ Commodore Barclay who commanded the British fleet.

able locations demanding a halt and that a stand be taken to meet the enemy under Harrison, who was slowly in pursuit.

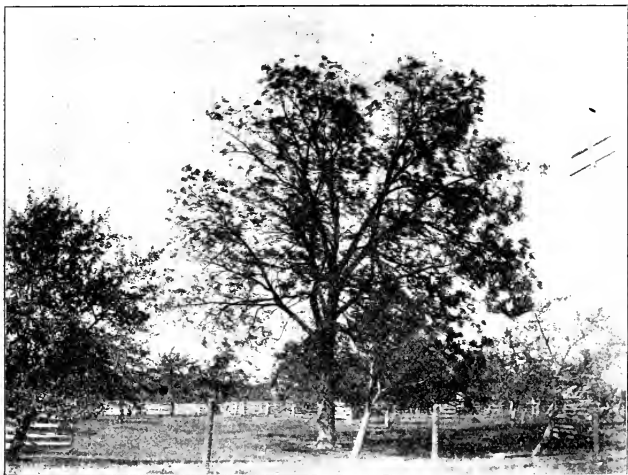
BATTLE OF THE THAMES.

At what was known as the Moravian town upon a slight elevation on the north banks of the Thames, Proctor at last reluctantly took his stand, because Tecumseh positively refused to retreat further. Tecumseh dictated the plan of battle. The British front faced down the stream, which was on the left. The cowering Proctor took a safe position, a quarter of a mile away, in the rear of his columns of Britons. On the right, by the side of a small swamp, were stationed the thousand Indians under Tecumseh. The savage laconically addressed his forces: "Brother Warriors, we are now about to enter an engagement from which I shall never come out; my body will remain on the battle field." To Proctor he said, "Tell your young men to be brave and all will be well." Unbuckling his sword, he handed it to a chief, saying, "when my son becomes a noted warrior, give him this." He then removed his British military uniform and took his place in line, attired only in the ordinary buckskin hunting suit of his people. The sentiment of the true patriot dominated the soul of this savage in the face of impending fate; to the ignomy of death in a failing cause on a foreign field, afar from the forest of his beloved native soil, he would not add the disgrace of wearing as his shroud the insignia of a nation professedly his friend, but really his treacherous foe. There are few, if any, instances in history more indicative of lofty nobility and of exalted loyalty to a cause than that exhibited by this "king of the woods" in his pathetic preparation for his apotheosis.

The American forces, numbering some twenty-five hundred, under the intrepid Harrison, advanced impatiently to the attack.⁹⁴ Tecumseh gave the signal for his warriors to enter the combat which was to be his doom, by giving the Shawnee war whoop and firing his gun. The clash was sharp, desperate, gory and destructive. The British left wing was broken with the

⁹⁴ This battle was fought on October 5, 1813.

first irresistible blow of the Americans. The red coats stood not upon the order of their going, but went at once, fleeing like frightened sheep before the storm, or falling easy prey into the hands of the victors. Proctor, the craven-hearted general, at the earliest intimation of disaster, mounted his horse and deserting his stricken and helpless grenadiers, precipitately fled to a haven of safety, sixty-five miles away. The Redmen would not



Tree marking the spot where Tecumseh fell on the Thames battlefield,
Ontario, Canada.

yield. Commanded by their chieftain and encouraged by his clarion voice, his words "Be brave, be brave," rang out amid the roar of battle; they stood and fought like warriors worthy their race and worthy their fearless leader, who like the illustrious Earl of Warwick, Maker of Kings, at the battle of Barnet, sought the midst of the carnage and courted death. Between Tecumseh's Indians and the dashing cavalymen of Colonel Johnson, the fray was most fierce and deadly. It was hand to hand, and tomahawk and sabre did their bloody work. It was brief,

not a red warrior wavered until the warwhoops of Tecumseh ceased, that voice that like the bugle blast of the Scotch clansman of old, "was worth a thousand men," that voice was suddenly hushed in death.⁹⁵ "Tecumseh fell dead and they all ran," was the subsequent testimony of a Pottawattamie chief.

Thus heroically passed the majestic soul of Tecumseh. The final hopes of the red man were interred with his bones. There was to be no resurrection. He gave his life blood, as the fearless and patriotic have ever done — on the field of valor, for the rights of a race; his requiem was the clash of arms and the din of battle:

Oh, fading honors of the dead;
Oh, high ambition lowly laid;

amid the war-cries of his doughty braves, as they fought on around his fallen form, his spirit was wafted to the "happy hunting grounds." His grief-stricken warriors stealthily recovered his body during the night, as it lay upon the fatal field under the fitful light of the victor's camp fires. But his memory needs no monument of marble or tablet of brass. His renown is indelibly recorded on the pages of imperishable history. He was the finest flower of the American aboriginal race. Greater hero hath never died, nor yet shall fall; his savage genius was all but sublime; he was humane, generous, just; braver warrior never encountered a foeman; the battle shouts of his valiant followers was the music of his tempestuous life; his sagacity surpassed that of his civilized competitors; his oratory was magnetic and matchless; in national loyalty and lofty integrity he was the Brutus of his barbarian people, "the noblest Roman of them all." His



DEATH OF TECUMSEH.

⁹⁵ The interminable discussion as to who killed Tecumseh is not pertinent in this article. Who his slayer was cannot now be determined.

unparalleled career and unsullied character accord him, in the hall of fame, a place with Wallace and Bruce and Kossuth and Schamyl and Bolivar and Garibaldi and the heaven born band of immortal heroes. He expended every ambition and energy of his life in the herculean effort to redress the wrongs of his people — to avert the powers that presaged their doom. As Canute would beckon back the waves of the sea, so this dauntless chief, with a faith akin to fanaticism, would revert the resistless tide of civilization. But the puissant monarch of the forest tribesmen could not check the course of empire as westward it took its way. It was not for him to stay the decreed destiny of human progress. Tecumseh's tragic defeat and death closed the last struggle in the Ohio Valley of the Redmen against the advance of the pale face Anglo-Saxon. The mighty chief fell facing the rising sun whence came his enemy and conqueror. But his people, hopeless, heroless, championless and leaderless, must then take up their journey toward the setting sun:

“On a long and distant journey
In the glory of the sunset,
In the purple mist of evening,
To the regions of the home-wind,
Of the Northwest Wind Keewaydin,
To the island of the Blessed;
To the kingdom of Ponemah,
To the land of the Hereafter.”

ADDENDA TO TECUMSEH.

The foregoing sketch is the result of an examination of the literature on the subject found in the leading libraries of the country. The Biography of Benjamin Drake, (Cincinnati, 1848), has been much relied upon. Most of the original documents employed by Mr. Drake are now preserved in the Draper Collection of manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis., where they were fully consulted during the preparation of this monograph. — E. O. R.

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH.

A painstaking investigation as to the place and date of Tecumseh's birth leads to the clear conviction that he was born at (old)

Piqua in the Spring of 1768 as noted on the previous page. Confirmatory of this we have the written testimony of the Ruddells and John Johnston. Captain Isaac Ruddell was one of the early settlers of Kentucky, acquired considerable means and established the settlement of Ruddell's Station on the Licking River, Kentucky, in the present county of Harrison. In June, 1780, Captain Henry Bird with a command of one thousand consisting in part of British troops but mostly of hostile Indians marched from Detroit through Ohio, by way of the Miamis, crossed the Ohio river to the Licking, (Ky.), and attacked and destroyed Ruddell's Station and Martin's Station. Captain Isaac Ruddell and his two sons, Stephen and Abraham, were taken prisoners. The father was transported to Detroit and subsequently released. The sons were claimed by the Indians and carried to the Miami country where they were held captives by the Shawnees. Stephen was adopted into the village and family of Tecumseh. For fifteen years, until the Battle of Fallen Timber, Stephen Ruddell was intimately associated with Tecumseh. They grew up as boys together. Stephen became thoroughly Shawneeized. He learned the language perfectly, was called Sinnamatha or the "Big Fish," married a squaw and became a leading man among the tribe. After the Greenville Treaty he became a Baptist minister and a missionary among the tribe of his former adoption. He was a man of high character and integrity and often acted as interpreter between the whites and the Indians. He ever retained great friendship and esteem for Tecumseh. Stephen Ruddell, who died in 1845, in a letter preserved in the Draper manuscripts, Wisconsin Historical Society Library, says: "I first became acquainted with Tecumseh at the age of twelve years, and being the same age myself, we became inseparable companions." In two letters of J. M. Ruddell, son of Stephen, to Lyman C. Draper, he (J. M.) states "my father Stephen was born September 18, 1768, and Tecumseh was about six months older than my father." This clearly places the birth of Tecumseh in the Spring of 1768. John Johnston was United States Government Indian Agent for all the Indians of Ohio for some thirty years, he knew Tecumseh and often conversed with him. He states Tecumseh was born at Piqua. And on this point we have the statement of Tecumseh himself to Duncan McArthur and Thomas Worthington, when the three were passing the site of the Piqua town in 1806. McArthur in a letter to Benjamin Drake (dated November 19, 1821) says "When on the way from Greenville to Chillicothe, Tecumseh pointed out to us the place where he was born. It was in an old Shawnee town on the north-west side of Mad river, about six miles below Springfield." This was the site of old Piqua. It has been stated by various writers that Tecumseh's birthplace was the site of the present town of Chillicothe, Ross county, and also of Old Town, north of Xenia, in Greene county, but the preponderance of evidence is strongly in favor of the Piqua site. We give however what seems to be the main if not the only authority for the location of the site near Xenia; *The American Pioneer*, volume I,

second edition, edited and published in Cincinnati by J. S. Williams (1843) on page 328, prints a letter of Thomas Hinde to John S. Williams, dated Mt. Carmel, Ill., May 6, 1842, which says: "According to Ben Kelly, Tecumseh's adopted brother, who was five years in Blackfish's family, Tecumseh was born near Xenia on Mr. Saxon's lot, near a spring." Another letter from Mr. Hinde, in the same publication (page 374) states that Mr. Benjamin Kelly was a Baptist preacher, who was taken prisoner, with Daniel Boone, at Blue Licks (Ky.) in 1779 and that Kelly was five years in Blackfish's family with the Prophet and Tecumseh.

SON OF TECUMSEH.

In a letter by Anthony Shane to Benjamin Drake, (1821), Shane says: "His (Tecumseh's) son was called Pugeshashenwa — meaning "Cat or Panther in act of seizing prey." He was born in 1796, his mother Mamate, died while he was yet young and he was adopted and raised by his aunt, Tecumseh's sister, Tecumsapease. This was the son to whom Tecumseh referred when entering the Battle of the Thames. The son was subsequently made an officer in the British army, as his father had been before him.

A grandson of Tecumseh, son of Pugeshashenwa, was known as Big Jim. He was chief of the Absentee Shawnees, located in Oklahoma. He died in Mexico, August, 1901. A great-grandson of Tecumseh, grandson of Pugeshashenwa, (by a sister of Big Jim), was Thomas Washington, who was also an Absentee Shawnee chief. He visited the President at Washington in 1901. This the writer (E. O. R.), learned through correspondence with Mr. M. J. Bentley, Ex-Special United States Indian Agent, at Shawnee, Oklahoma.

SISTER OF TECUMSEH.

Tecumseh's sister, Tecumsapease, is described as a woman of unusual beauty and attractiveness of character. Tecumseh was remarkably fond of her and throughout his life exhibited his fraternal affection and devotion. She in return ever displayed a great love and admiration for her distinguished brother. The Draper manuscripts relate that some of the Shawnee tribe resided in (what is now) Perry county, Missouri, on the north side of Apple Creek, Tecumsapease abiding with them. While on a visit to New Madrid to see some of her tribal friends, she met a young French Creole named Francois Masonville. They were married according to the Indian fashion. Shortly after this marriage (1808) Tecumseh while visiting the Upper Louisiana country for the purpose of exciting the tribes to war, learning of his sister's alliance to a pale face "became fierce and indignant and forced his sister to return to the Apple Creek (Shawnee) village." There she remained however only until Tecumseh left, when she returned to her Creole husband. They resided many years in New Madrid and reared a large family. Shane

says her husband was killed fighting by the side of Tecumseh in the battle of the Thames, but Shane speaks of him, as quoted by Drake, as Tecumseh's "friend and brother-in-law, Wasegoboah." It would appear from this that Masonville had united with the Indians, assumed an Indian name and became reconciled to Tecumseh. Shane further states that after the War of 1812 Tecumsapease went to Quebec (probably with her nephew Pugeshashenwa) whence after a time she returned to Detroit where she died. A few years ago (1884) some of her descendants were still living in Missouri.

TECUMSEH.

[From the poem by Jessie F. V. Donnell in the Magazine of Western Western History.]

True son of the forest, whose towering form
Imaged the pine in the wind-driven storm;
Whose eye, like the eagle's pierced keen and far,
Or burned with the light of a fiery star;
Whose voice was the river's tempestuous roar,
The surging of waves on a pitiless shore.

His tongue was a flame that leapt through the West,
Enkindling a spark in each rude savage breast;
The wind of the prairies, resistless and free,
Was the breath of his passionate imagery;
Ah! Never were poet's dreams more grand,
Nor even a Caesar more nobly planned!

His brain was as broad as the prairies' sweep;
His heart like a mountain-cavern deep,
Where silent and shadowed the water lies,
Yet mirrors a gleam from the star-strewn skies;
His soul ablaze with a purpose high,
Disdain of possessions, scorn of a lie.

What was Tecumseh? A threatening cloud
Over the untrodden wilderness bowed,

Bringing the storm in its desolate train,
Heralding rush of the hurricane!
Such to his foes; to his friends a spark,
That a moment gleamed through the gathering dark.

A comet-flash through a midnight sky;
The wail of the wind as it hurried by;
The flight of a bird on its untamed wings,—
All wild, resistless, impetuous things
Symbol, though faintly, that barbaric guide
Who led forth to freedom, and failed, and died.

* * *

Was Tecumseh then but a failure? A light
That faded for aye in eternity's night?
Will the sons of the forest forget their pride,
Forget that a hero still he died?
Defeat is not a failure when spirits are brave;
God wastes not the spark his divinity gave.

Great souls are not made for failure; they fall,
But God in his patience regathers them all;
Like stars they are set in the dimness of time
To illumine the world with their light sublime;
And while glimmers a ray from the mightiest star,
The soul of Tecumseh shall shine from afar.



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E. O. Randall

DECEMBER, 1906.

FORT STEPHENSON CELEBRATION.

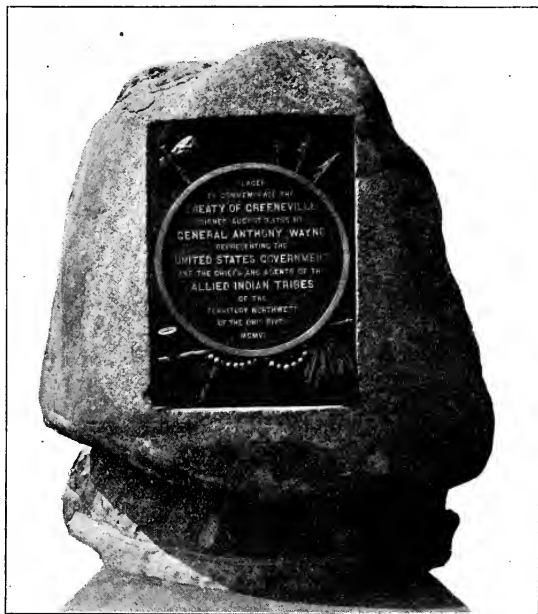
August 2d, 1906, was the ninety-third anniversary of the gallant defense of Fort Stephenson, the site of which is now the center of the attractive and enterprising city of Fremont. The heroic and unparalleled "holding" of the little stockade fort by Major George Croghan on August 2d, 1813, against some two thousand British troops under General Proctor and an equal number of Indian braves under Chief Tecumseh is one of the most memorable events not only in Ohio history but in the history of our country. For many years post Colonel Webb. C. Hayes, resident of the historic Hayes homestead, Spiegel Grove, Fremont, has been in search of the remains of the gallant George Croghan. He finally found them in an old buryingplace near Louisville, Ky., whence they were secured and removed to Fremont and on the day in question were re-interred at the base of the monument marking the spot of the old stockade enclosure. Over his grave will be planted a spray of myrtle which was brought from his former burial place. "Fort Stephenson Park" thus has an added interest and has become a sacred spot to which the citizens of Fremont and Ohio can point with pride and say: "On that spot was fought one of the decisive battles of the War of 1812 and within its borders, enthroned with glory, lies the man who said: 'We have decided to defend the Fort, and by Heaven we can.'"

The day of the celebration was a beautiful one and thousands of Ohio's citizens gathered at Fremont to witness the elaborate and imposing ceremonies. The Sixth Regiment of the Ohio National Guard was present and gave fitting military character to the occasion. The nation was represented by Vice-President Fairbanks and the state by Governor Harris and his staff. Addresses were delivered by many distinguished speakers. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was represented on the program by its secretary. The proceedings will be set forth in detail in the forthcoming January (1907) QUARTERLY of the Society.

UNVEILING GREENVILLE TABLET.

Greenville has witnessed many historic gatherings commemorative of the signing of the Greenville Treaty on August 3d, 1795. The formal signing of this treaty by General Anthony Wayne and other

government officials on the part of the United States and some ninety Indian chiefs and Sachems on behalf of the conquered Indian tribes was one of the most potent episodes in western history. On August 3d, 1895, under the auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, a fitting centennial celebration was held at Greenville, in which Governor McKinley, Hon. Samuel F. Hunt, Hon. William J.



GREENVILLE TABLET.

Gilmore and Hon. Samuel H. Doyle, delivered eloquent and inspiring addresses. But not until this last anniversary (August 3, 1906) was any attempt made to erect any memorial perpetuating the event. Through the patriotic and indefatigable efforts of Mr. George A. Katzenberger, President of the Historical Society of Greenville, and Mr. Frazer E. Wilson, author of the most complete and authentic account of the "Treaty of Greenville," aided by the members of the Greenville His-

torical Society and other citizens of Greenville, a memento was secured in the shape of a colossal granite boulder upon the face of which was attached an artistic bronze tablet, inscribing the event. The ceremonies attending the unveiling were worthy the occasion. A parade preceded the exercises at the tablet. This was participated in by the members of Company M., 3d Regiment, Ohio Militia, Red Men, representing Little Turtle Tribe, (Greenville); Minnehaha Tribe (Bradford); Mississinawa Tribe (Union City); Big Foot Tribe (New Madison) and Oklawaha Tribe (Ithaca); the G. A. R.; Greenville Historical Society; Treaty City Club and speakers in automobiles.

When the procession reached the boulder and tablet on West Main Street, which were covered with the American flag, the band played "Hail Columbia" and "America" was sung by a chorus of voices.

Rev. J. P. Alden, pastor of the Reformed church, made the invocation, after which Mr. George A. Katzenberger, President of the Historical Society, presented the treaty memorial to the city in the following speech:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Eleven years ago there was held in this city the Centennial of the Treaty of Greenville. One of the speakers, our martyred president, William McKinley, then governor of our state, ended his address as follows: "We can not have too many of these celebrations with their impressive lessons of patriotism and sacrifice. Let us teach our children to revere the past, for by its example and lessons alone can we wisely prepare them for a better and nobler future. The city of Greenville, the people of Ohio, the people of the country, should see to it that at a distant day a great monument shall be erected to celebrate this great event."



GEO. A. KATZENBERGER.

In a similar vein, Judge Samuel F. Hunt concluded his address at the centennial in 1895: "If, too, the victories of peace are not less renowned than those of war, then the day will surely come when a grateful people, revering their traditions, and conscious of the maxims imperial of their glory, will erect on this historic ground a majestic monument having an outstretched hand, rather than a fixed bayonet with the simple yet immortal inscription, "The Treaty of Greenville."

The long desired monument is not yet a reality. The military achievements of Anthony Wayne are consecrated in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen, but no monument marks this site of his greatest achievement.

However, we have here among our young men an organization known as the Greenville Historical Society, which has held monthly

meetings since 1903. One of the objects of the society is the securing of a Wayne memorial and under the leadership of Mr. Frazier Wilson, we have labored together to awaken in the public an interest in matters historical.

We have succeeded in part and have secured from the citizens funds sufficient to purchase a tablet which will commemorate the treaty which put courage in the heart of the pioneer and gave hope to his brave wife.

The members of Little Turtle Tribe of Red Men have co-operated with us to make this event a success, and we also owe grateful acknowledgement to the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic and to the members of Company M, Third Regiment, as well as to the liberality of our business men who assisted financially.



FRAZER E. WILSON.

The boulder was presented to us by Frank D. Meeker, and placed in position gratuitously by Mr. John Horlacher and sons.

It will be unveiled by Sanford Irwin, a descendant of Thomas Irwin, who was a soldier in the army of St. Clair, and by Oscar Kerlin, Jr., a descendant of Major George Adams, who commanded Fort Greenville in 1812.

May the ruggedness of this granite boulder be a reminder of the virtues of those who fought, bled and died for this territory and may its power to withstand the elements be exceeded by the ability of our country to withstand all its foes both without and within.

And now on behalf of the members of the Greenville Historical Society I present to the public, through you this Memorial Boulder.

The unveiling of the tablet followed by Masters Sanford Irwin and Oscar Kerlin, Jr., and a military salute was fired by members of Company M.

After a rendition of "Star Spangled Banner" by the band, Hon. T. C. Maher, chief executive of the city, accepted the memorial on behalf of the city in the following speech:

Mr. Chairmen, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On August 3, 1795, one hundred and eleven years ago, there occurred upon this spot a most momentous event in the history of this country. Here, as every student knows, was signed the Treaty of Greenville, that opened for development and civilization the vast territory that is now known as the Great Mississippi Valley, and from a dense forest it has since been brought by the hand of enterprise and energy of the sons and daughters of America, to be the homes of millions of loyal sons and daughters of liberty loving people.

My friends, as mayor of the city, and as a representative of her citizens, I accept for the city as a mark to the memory of the heroes, who, moved by a spirit of patriotism, made it possible that we might live in our now pleasant homes. This unpretentious mark of our love and gratitude to them will last longer than the granite shaft that will some day be erected to their memory by our citizens.

The Historical Society of our little city deserves the gratitude of our hearts for what it has done, and I hope that in no far distant day we will be able to have the pleasure of attending the unveiling of a monument built by the city, county, state and national government to the memory of the gallant heroes whom they today honor, to the gallant soldiers of all other wars in which the citizens of our county and state participated.

And now I think it mete and proper that this monument be again put into the care and guardianship of the same hand that created it, and in behalf of the citizens and people, I hereby put this mark in the care of the Historical Society of Greenville, that their ever watchful eye may keep it in its present condition, and preserve it until a more stately and suitable monument is erected.

Major Maher was followed by Mr. S. M. Gorham, Grand Sachem of Ohio Improved Order of Red Men. His address was an appropriate tribute to the crude but simple character of the Indian, his nobility and fidelity, his achievements in peace and war and his debasement and sufferings at the hands of his overpowering pale face antagonist. The historic address was made by E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The speaker's theme was the significance and result of the contest between the white and the red man in the Ohio Valley, lasting half a century, from Pontiac's conspiracy in 1763 to the termination of Tecumseh's confederacy in 1813. Appropriate impromptu remarks were made by Mrs. Edward Orton, Jr., Regent, Columbus Chapter D. A. R.; Mr. Clement R. Gilmore of Dayton, son of Judge W. R. Gilmore, who delivered the address at the Centennial in 1889; Hon. A. R. Robeson and others. An interesting incident connected with the program was the fact that the fifer in the G. A. R. band, Mr. William Henry Harrison Reppeto, who had spent four years (1861-5) in splendid service for the unity and perpetuity of his country was a grandson of Alexander McEowen, who though at that time only sixteen years of age, saw service in the ranks of the army of General Wayne and was present at and witnessed the sacred ceremonies of the eventful treaty.

PERRY'S VICTORY CELEBRATION.

September 10, (1906) the Maumee Valley Historical Association held its annual observance of the memorable victory on Lake Erie, 1813.

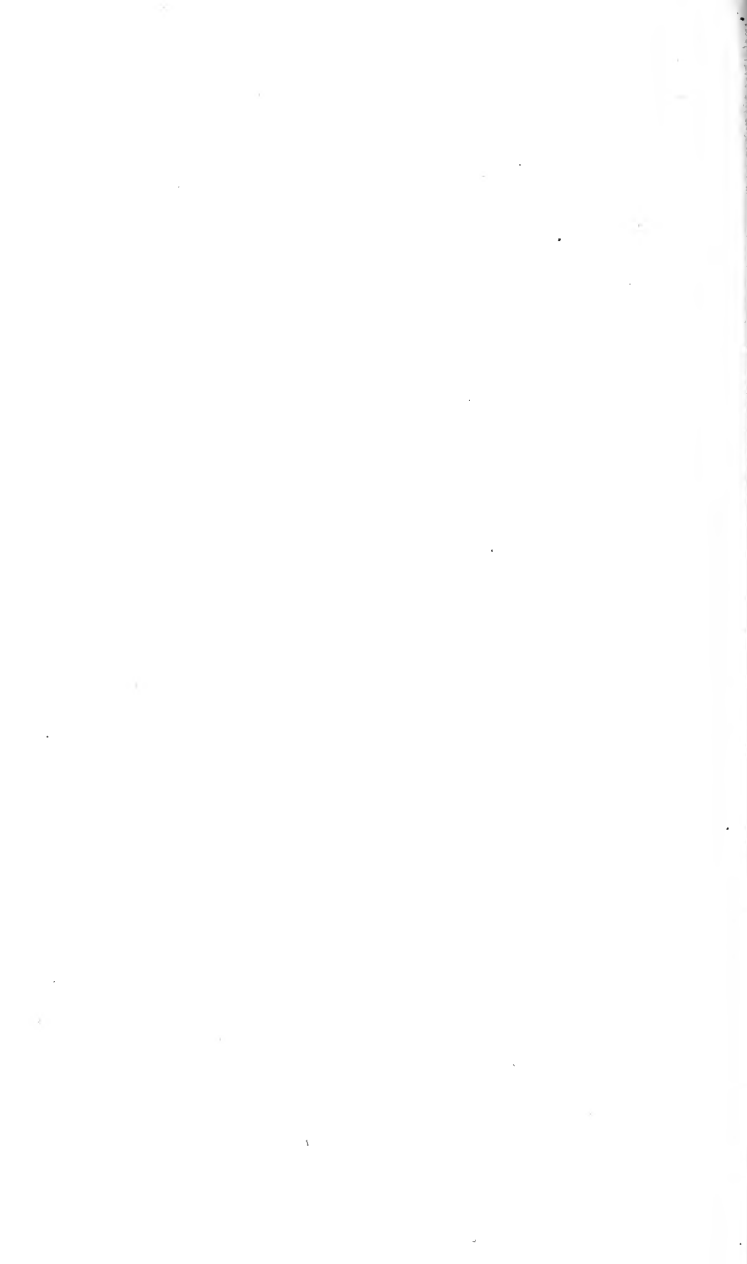
of Commodore Perry over the British fleet under Commodore Barclay. The exercises continued during the day, beginning in the morning with a reunion of the pioneers of the vicinity and their descendants and the veterans of the G. A. R. In the afternoon the exercises were devoted to "the day we celebrate." The meeting was held in the grove, on the outskirts of Maumee City. Few locations are so calculated to recall the memories of great events in Ohio history or arouse the patriotism of the citizen or inspire the thoughts and speech of the orator. Within a radius of a mile or two, indeed almost within view of the speaker's stand were the sites of Fort Miami and Meigs, famous for the part they played in the War of 1812; and the Rapids of the Maumee where was fought the decisive battle of Fallen Timber. A lengthy program of speeches, song and music was successfully carried out to the enjoyment of the large crowds present. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was represented by its secretary who spoke of the character of the American pioneer in the Wars of 1776 and 1812. The president of the day was Hon. James M. Wolcott, ex-mayor of Maumee City and a grandson of Little Turtle, one of the most distinguished Indian chiefs in American history and who won immortal fame for his generalship in the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair.

The present legislature, in the session last Spring, appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars for "the purchase of the site and construction of memorial at Fort Meigs." A most laudable purpose for the expenditure of some of the state's money.

The committee having this matter in charge in behalf of the Maumee Valley Historical Association consists of John Wilson of Bowling Green, Lansing Pray of Toledo, and Charles Shoemaker of Waterville.

Governor James M. Pattison, after a brave and prolonged struggle for life, died at his home, Milford, Clermont County, on June 18, 1906. A sketch of his life and character will duly appear in the pages of the *QUARTERLY*. Lieutenant-Governor Harris at once assumed the duties of the office of Governor.

On September 17th, 1906, Governor Harris re-appointed Hon. John W. Harper, Cincinnati, and Rev. N. B. C. Love, Perrysburg, trustees of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, to serve until February 18, 1909. They have both faithfully served the Society in the same capacity for many years.



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